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ABSTRACT

This monograph presents results of a survey of 13 ethnic groups conducted in the Greater Cleveland area in 1980-81 to determine how ethnicity was affected by communication and the mass media. In the introductory section, the monograph describes the ethnic composition of Cleveland (which includes Hispanics, Vietnamese, Koreans, Filipinos, Indians, Eastern and Western Europeans, Lebanese, Japanese, Asian Indians, Burmese, Cambodians, Iranians, Chinese, Russians, and Turks), and notes the number of characteristics of ethnic newspapers, periodicals, radio and television stations in the Cleveland area and the United States in general. The second section describes how the survey was conducted, discusses major changes in the personal lives of ethnic groups and communities, and examines how these people use and react to the media. Other issues considered are their radio and television channel preference, newspapers read, interpersonal communication, cultural patterns (customs and traditions), integration with family, friends, and neighborhood, and their political involvement. Finally, the results of the current survey are compared with those of a previous survey carried out in 1976. (WAM)

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COMMUNICATION AND THE PERSISTENCE OF ETHNICITY

By
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Monograph No. 5
Communication Research Center
Cleveland State University

May, 1982
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

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PREFACE

In 1976 we conducted a survey of 13 ethnic groups in the Greater Cleveland area. The information from that study was passed on to representatives of each ethnic group as well as many others interested in ethnic communication. A monograph entitled Ethnic Communication in Cleveland was co-authored by Leo W. Jeffres, now director of the Communication Research Center, and K. Kyoon Hur, now an associate professor at the University of Texas-Austin. Four years later the research center returned to the same people to identify changes that have occurred during that period. This monograph reports the results of that survey and compares it to the 1976 study. We especially hope that the survey information is useful to ethnic groups and the ethnic media--ethnic newspapers, cable TV, and ethnic radio program directors--that serve them.

The 1980-81 survey would not have been completed without the dedication and persistence of Ms. Mildred Barnard and Ms. Jean Dobos, both research assistants in the Communication Research Center during the survey period. A debt of gratitude is owed both for their diligence across the many demands made by the survey--tracking down new phone numbers and addresses, interviewing dozens of respondents--each for a half hour to an hour, spending countless hours coding the results of the questionnaire, and struggling with computer tapes.

The contributions of many other people also are noted. Mick Latkovich assisted with a wide range of activities and contacted many producers of ethnic radio programs for information. Mark Ligas spent many hours assisting with the coding and data analysis, and Joe Pianecki helped interview editors of ethnic newspapers. Other interviewers were: Fern Joseph, Elizabeth Martinko, William Grulich, and Andy Razgaitis. Several people reviewed portions of the manuscript or provided information to confirm ethnic media listings. We want to thank Miklos Kossanyi of the Nationality Broadcasting Network, Dr. Edward Gobetz, director of the Slovenian Research Center of America at Kent State University, Helen Vorvolakis and Areta Nadozirny of the Foreign Language Department of the Cleveland Public Library, Lucretia Stoica and others from the Nationalities Services Center, and Dr. Karl Bonutti from the Ethnic Heritage Studies program at Cleveland State. We also want to thank the ethnic radio producers, ethnic newspaper editors, and others contacted for their cooperation and assistance.

Unfortunately, names and addresses were not available for two of the ethnic groups included in the 1976 survey. However, we do want to extend our appreciation to all those who participated in either survey. Only with the

respondents' cooperation can useful information such as this be provided for the ethnic media and ethnic organizations that serve Cleveland's diverse heritage groups.

We also want to note again that some of the support for the first survey came from a grant awarded by the Cleveland Foundation. We also acknowledge support by the Department of Communication at Cleveland State University.

L.W.J.
May, 1982
Cleveland, Ohio

INTRODUCTION

Cleveland has a long history of ethnic diversity, and the mixture continues to grow as new ethnic groups appear. In recent years, Hispanics, Vietnamese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Indians have joined the Eastern Europeans and other ethnic communities here. For example, the Cleveland public schools provided bilingual instruction in Spanish, Arabic, Vietnamese and Romanian in 1980.[1] Parma reported 20 Arabian students and more than a half-dozen Koreans; Lakewood enrolled Lebanese, Filipino, Japanese, Asian Indians and Vietnamese; South-Euclid-Lyndhurst schools reported Japanese and Chinese-Speaking students; and the Cleveland Heights-University Heights system reported a cosmopolitan population from Burma, Cambodia, Iran, Korea, Japan, Russia and Turkey.[2] Thus, ethnicity is likely to remain an important factor in Cleveland for years to come.

We need to understand how ethnic heritages continue beyond the second and third generation, and this monograph represents a modest attempt to focus on an essential ingredient in the persistence of ethnicity--communication. Furthermore, the emerging view of ethnicity and assimilation sees it not as a one-way process in which people lose their ethnic ties and culture, but rather as a flexible strategy for coping with the demands of urban life. With this new

view, we need to focus even further on the function played by communication.

How does communication affect ethnicity? Traditionally, we have looked at families as the major agent for socializing children into their ethnic culture--passing on the traditions and values from one generation to the next. Thus, interpersonal communication between parents and their children would act together with other learning processes in passing on ethnic culture. There also are other contexts for communication to act in this manner--the ethnic church, ethnic organizations, friendship networks, and ethnic neighborhoods. In addition to interpersonal communication, both newcomers and the established are linked to their heritage by the ethnic mass media--ethnic newspapers, magazines and books, ethnic radio programs, and, today, ethnic television programs aired over cable systems. Communication, thus, acts as a network linking ethnics together and including newcomers in what becomes a learning process. For the older ethnic, this becomes a reinforcing process which supports existing ethnic patterns. Those individuals who are more tightly integrated into ethnic communication networks would, thus, maintain their ethnic identification and patterns of behavior more than those poorly integrated or isolated.

However, as noted above, today ethnicity is increasingly viewed as a heritage whose persistence need not depend on a steady enactment. Instead, those who have disengaged from their ethnic background, for whatever

reason, may find it personally involving and advantageous to reaffirm the ethnic culture. For those people, then, the part played by communication would likely vary. If there is an origin to the revival of one's ethnic ties, it may be internal to the individual, or an interaction between one's personal situation and a hostile environment. We may find an effort to participate once again in ethnic communication networks an important factor. The part played by the metropolitan media may be more significant for those who return to their heritage than it is among those ethnics for whom their ethnic background was continuously integrated into their daily lives.

What are the specific goals of this effort four years after the first survey? First, we hope to identify changes in the lives of our ethnic sample and their ethnic communities. We also hope to offer some tentative answers to how communication relates to changes in ethnics' lives. Throughout the study, communication is the central focus, including ethnic newspapers and radio program consumption, and interpersonal communication.

The past four years have seen many changes in the ethnic media, as well as what appears to be the further erosion of some ethnic neighborhoods, where ethnic communication is so important.

Ethnic Media--Diversity & Change:

More than a thousand media units attempt to serve ethnic communities in the United States. But relatively few studies have actually examined the ethnic media themselves, and most of those have demonstrated how the ethnic media serve the unassimilated whose life still centers around ethnic groups and activities and for minority groups that are still not a part of mainstream America.[3] The breadth of the ethnic media is illustrated by the list of radio stations and newspapers that target at least some content at ethnic audiences. Two relatively recent counts are provided by the comprehensive 1976 edition of Prof. Lubomyr R. Wynar's Encyclopedia Directory of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States, and a listing of weekly foreign-language newspapers provided by the 1981 Editor & Publisher International Yearbook. The former provides essential data on ownership, circulation, staffing, basic editorial thrust and language use not only for weekly papers but also other ethnic publications and periodicals. The total circulation of the 977 ethnic publications was 9,113,284 (See Table 1).

Radio stations also illustrate America's ethnic diversity. In 1981, Broadcasting Yearbook listed 248 radio stations with Black, Afro-American formats and 143 with Spanish language formats. In addition, some 11 different ethnic groups were identified as audiences for special programming, including some 542 stations directing

special programming to Black Americans. The 10 ethnic groups cited in Table 2 were the target of 4,416.8 hours of radio programming.

Changes in the number of units for specific ethnic groups will occur as the number of ethnic radio stations and newspapers changes. Furthermore, there are numerous specialized academic journals, whose audience is not necessarily members of ethnic groups.

In the case of television, there is little ethnic programming of any kind directly under the control of ethnics. However, in the fall of 1975, the first Black-owned and oriented TV station in the U.S. went on the air in Detroit.[4]

At the time of the 1976 survey, there were 13 ethnic-directed newspapers in Greater Cleveland, including: German, Hungarian, Jewish, Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovene papers. Most of these were weekly papers. In 1976 two radio stations had ethnic-language formats, and three ethnic groups had as many as a dozen programs available in their respective languages. Polish-American ethnics could listen to 45.5 hours of Polish radio programs. At that time there was almost no ethnic television for the groups surveyed, except for a Sunday afternoon polka hour that appeals to a wide audience. Even before all results of the 1976 study were published, the ethnic scene had started to change, particularly in radio. In 1979 radio station WXEN changed its call letters to WZZP-FM and its format to rock; it no longer provides the extensive diet of ethnic programs it

TABLE 1

ETHNIC NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS IN THE U.S.

Ethnic Group	Wynar Encyclopedia-Total Periodicals (1976)	Editor & Publisher Foreign-Language Weekly Newspapers (1981)
Jewish	141	-
Hebrew	.	1
Yiddish	-	4
Spanish	58	20
Polish	53	14
Italian	48	11
German	60	25
Greek	24	10
Hungarian	32	8
Russian	26	5
Ukrainian	77	5
Czech	33	5
Slovak	24	8
Chinese	31	11
Lithuanian	43	11
Arabic	28	6
Armenian	34	10
Swedish	20	6
Norwegian	16	3
French	10	5
Carpatho-Ruthenian	13	-
Japanese	15	9
Slovene	11	4
Dutch	8	1
Croatian	12	2
Irish	6	4
Portuguese	10	3
Filipino	8	-
Danish	9	1
Asian(general)	6	-
Serbian	6	1
Serbo-Croatian	-	1
Latvian	13	2
Finnish	9	4
Indian	3	1
Scandinavian	4	-
Romanian	7	2
Belgian-Flemish	2	-
Byelorussian	14	-
Turkish	6	-

(continued)

TABLE 1
(Continued)

Ethnic Groups	Wynar Encyclopedia-Total Periodicals (1976)	Editor & Publisher Foreign Language Weekly Newspapers (1981)
Swiss	4	-
Bulgarian	4	2
Albanian	7	-
Korean	8	1
Basque	2	-
Scottish	4	-
Estonian	3	1
Welsh	1	-
Assyrian	1	-
Georgian	1	-
Luxemburg	1	-
Cossack	1	-
Iranian	1	1
Pakistani	1	-
Multi-Ethnic	17	-
Black, Afro-American	-	198
Total:	977	407

TABLE 2

ETHNIC RADIO PROGRAMMING IN THE U.S.

Ethnic Groups	Number of radio stations broadcasting some programming to each ethnic group	Number of hours of ethnic programming made available across all radio stations
American Indian	51	218
French	99	358.2
German	139	346.5
Greek	52	118.5
Italian	140	399.2
Japanese	11	73
Polish	199	551.9
Portuguese	46	138
Spanish	505	2,186
Ukrainian	13	27.5
	Total:	4,416.8

once did. Many of the ethnic programs formerly on WXEN found new homes, some on WZAK, which itself changed from an ethnic-format through a two-step process that leaves many fewer ethnic radio programs today. Radio station WZAK presented ethnic programs from 5:30 a.m. to 1 a.m. seven days a week at the time of the 1976 survey. It is owned by Xenophon Zapis, who has produced a Greek program on radio for 30 years. On April 14, 1980, WZAK-FM began to "serve two masters."[5] After 16 years of catering exclusively to ethnic audiences, it implemented a "beautiful music with a dash of international flavor" from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. weekdays. Then from 6 p.m. to 1 a.m. weekdays and on weekends, ethnic programming reigned. Efforts were made to retain the 30 ethnic programming producers-announcers, though the time for some programs was shortened. The station hoped the format change would make it more competitive economically.[6] This was the format in existence during the 1980-81 survey reported in this monograph. The second shoe dropped March 2, 1981, when WZAK shed most of its ethnic programming for what it called a "mixture of progressive jazz, rhythm and blues, pop and adult contemporary music."[7] For a time, it continued to air its most popular ethnic programming on Sundays from 6 a.m. through 11 p.m., including Slovene, German, Italian and Hispanic programs. Commenting on the change, Plain Dealer radio columnist James Ewinger said:

> The story of WZAK-FM is the story of Cleveland. For nearly two decades, it served the diverse ethnic communities, groups of proud, hard-working immigrants, many from Eastern and Mediterranean Europe, who came here to earn their slice of America. Many got what they came for. They loaded up their station wagons, moved to the suburbs, and their European heritage became the stuff of holidays and ethnic festivals, not everyday life.
>
> As many moved into the mainstream of American life, they moved out of WZAK's audience, or so the station says.[8]

He adds that the "real problem that confronted WZAK's old format was the diversity of the European immigrants." While they "may have made up the majority of Greater Cleveland's population...individually, the communities were not large enough to make a station profitable." He continues, "The Poles, for instance might listen to a Polish program, but not an Italian or Hispanic show, and vice versa." However, while the two ethnic-format radio stations were switching audiences, another ethnic entrepreneur was forging ahead in the medium of television, as well as providing another outlet for ethnic radio programs. Miklos Kossanyi founded the Nationality Broadcasting Service in the fall of 1977. A native of Komarom, Hungary, Kossanyi came to Cleveland in 1956 following the Russian suppression of the revolution in that country. He first broadcast over WXEN-FM, switching to WZAK-FM in 1963. He left WZAK in June, 1977 and started his ethnic network three months later. His radio signal is beamed on a subchannel of WZZP-FM and can only be picked up by special receivers or regular sets. Some 8,000 sets

equipped with an adapter are scattered throughout Greater Cleveland.

Then, in the fall of 1980, the Nationality Broadcasting Service began producing ethnic TV programs for cable television. In 1982, his ethnic TV programs appear on cable TV systems three days a week on both the east and west sides of Cleveland.[9] With production facilities at 11916 Madison Ave., Cleveland, the Nationality Broadcasting Network serves up fashion and cooking shows, movies, sports, religious and news programs in English, plus German, French, Italian, Irish, Hungarian and other languages. Cable programming comes from 26 foreign countries via cassettes.[10] Most of the ethnic TV programs now shown regularly were not available but to a select few at the time of the second ethnic survey late in 1980 and early 1981. Currently, NBS programs include: a Hungarian program, Dr. John Manolesco, a Serbian program, Around the World, a French program, an Irish program, Nations and Nationalities of Yugoslavia, an Italian program, a German program, a Slovak program, a Slovene program, This is America, and a Polish program. There has been less change among ethnic newspapers. In the four years between the two surveys, only one paper suspended circulation, and several attempts have been made or are underway to start publications for new ethnic groups or those without their own papers. For example, Jose Pena started the Spanish newspapers, "Ecos De Cleveland," but it stopped publication in 1981. The magazine Latino also was begun by Pena.[11] Two new Hungarian

publications are: Uj Ido, edited monthly in Lakewood by Szerkeszto-Kiado, and Nyugati Orszem (Western Observer), begun in October, 1981 by a group of writers headed by Arpad Dobolyi of Shaker Heights.

Among the ethnic newspapers are the enduring Hungarian weekly newspapers published by nationally-prominent Zoltan Gombos, "Szabadsag"(freedom) and "Vilag"(world). The former is an 88-year-old paper with a circulation of about 4,500, and the latter has 6,500 subscribers. Both are published and edited at 1736 E. 22nd St.[12] Equally well-known are the German-language publications of Stefan Deubel, a printer, politician, newspaper owner, and ethnic leader. He and his wife Hella publish the weekly German newspapers, "Wachter und Anzeiger," which is 128 years old, and the "Saxon News," a national newspaper with a circulation of about 5,000. About 10 years ago he rescued the Foreign Language Newspaper Service, an advertising agency that provides $225,000 yearly to 13 ethnic newspapers that include German, Hungarian, Italian, and Romanian papers. In an interview, Deubel said, "Without this advertising service, those newspapers, mostly printed in Cleveland, would not have made it, and that is why I took it over." In the late 1800s "Wachter und Anzeiger" had a larger circulation than the Plain Dealer, which is 12 years older; today the German-language paper has about 3,000 subscribers. Ramachandran Balu edits "The Lotus," a monthly publication of the Federation of India Community Associations. The

publication began with a circulation of about 200 some 15 years ago and has since grown to about 1,200-1,500.

Interviews were conducted with editors of four ethnic newspapers published in the Cleveland area in 1979, including the editors of "Dirva"(Lithuanian); "Wachter und Anzeiger" and the "Saxon News Volksblatt"(German); "Zwiazkowiec"(Polish); and 'Ameriska Domovina"(Slovene).[14] Each of the four papers tries to promote its ethnic culture. We presented a list of 16 different functions which have been attributed to ethnic newspapers and asked them how important each was for their paper--very important, somewhat important, not very important, or totally unimportant. Six functions were unanimously identified as very important: helping pass on the ethnic culture to new generations, informing people of news from the mother country, informing people of news about the ethnic community in the U.S.-nationally, informing people of news about the local ethnic community, providing cultural content, and keeping ethnics informed of group and organizational activities or celebrations. A second group of four functions followed closely in terms of importance: promoting use of the ethnic language, helping people feel proud they're ethnic Americans, discussing political issues relevant to ethnics, and providing an outlet for creative writers and other ethnic talent. Three other functions were cited as very important for two papers and somewhat important for the other two: promoting cohesion within the ethnic group, helping eliminate poor stereotypes and images

of the ethnic group, and strengthening ethnics in their religious-spiritual life. For the remaining three functions, the editors split on their importance. Helping ethnic businesses reach consumers via advertising was totally unimportant for one paper. And, while half thought providing ethnic entertainment and helping ethnics solve neighborhood problems were very important, the other two thought they were somewhat important or not very important.

All staff members of the four papers understood at least some of the ethnic language, and at least 50% of the papers' content is in the ethnic languages. In two cases, the papers are almost entirely in their language; "Dirva" is all in Lithuanian and "Wachter und Anzeiger" is about 98% German. However, there is a trend toward greater usage of English. Three of the editors said the youth were not being reached so more English would likely be used in the future.

What content appears most often in the four papers? The editors were asked to indicate the frequency with which 21 different types of content appeared in their papers. Among the most frequent were: political columns, articles about ethnic fraternal groups, news from the "mother country," letters to the editor, and articles about ethnic cultural and social organizations; these appear in almost every issue, often several times, for most of the papers. Types of content also appearing frequently in most of the papers were: calendars of ethnic events, photographs, obituaries of members of the ethnic groups, sports stories, editorials, information about traveling to the mother

country, articles about ethnic family trees and how to trace one's ethnic "roots," an English-language section, news of other ethnic groups, reports or reviews of books in the ethnic language, and fiction, short stories or poems. Appearing only periodically or not at all in some of the papers were stories about religious events, recipes and articles on ethnic food, musical scores or lyrics to ethnic songs, and crossword puzzles in the ethnic language. One editor added that his paper published historical articles occasionally. Three of the four papers published advertising. For one national paper, 40% of the advertising comes from outside the area, while another is almost 90% local, and a third has considerable classified advertising.

Where does the news come from and how are the staffs organized? All four papers' staffs are small, from two to six full-time members. However, there are extensive exchange agreements with other papers or networks of correspondents. "Dirva" has cooperative agreements with 20 newspapers which trade information. The German-language newspapers have correspondents in West Germany and Austria, the Polish paper has 11 correspondents from U.S. cities and states and some from Poland, and the Slovene paper has correspondents or exchange agreements throughout the U.S. and other countries. Much of the work is done by volunteers and contributors. All of the papers print editorials at least occasionally, and in each case the editor is responsible for the editorials' content. Some papers endorse political candidates, and, as one editor said, the

politicians always appear around election time but "you never see them at other times."

All four newspapers have subscribers outside the Cleveland area. "Dirva," for example, is a national paper which distributes 500 of its 4,500 circulation in the Cleveland area. About half of the subscribers to the Slovene paper live outside the area, while 45% of the circulation of the Polish paper is in Cleveland. Four-fifths of the German papers' readership is in this area, the editor said. Two of the editors believe their papers have changed little in recent years, but one pointed to an improved technical quality, and another to more features and columns.

What problems do the ethnic newspapers face? One editor pointed to a generation gap and difficulty in providing stories that interest both young and old readers. Financial, circulation and technical production problems were also cited. Competition for advertising continues to plague ethnic papers, and finding skilled staff members has been a problem at times. Rising postage and newsprint costs also pressure ethnic papers. The editors were provided a list of 18 changes which have been suggested for ethnic newspapers; they were asked to select those they thought their readers would like to see accomplished. The following were cited by three of the four editors: improve the distribution system and make the newspapers more available; modernize the newspapers; add more cultural content; publish more pages; and use more pictures. At least two cited these

suggestions: add more news from the "old country" and do more interviews. Editors said they rely on letters and personal contacts to find out what their readers want. Other ethnic newspapers published in the Cleveland area at the time of the second survey were: the "Catholic Hungarian Sunday" from Youngstown and "Szabadsag" and "Az Ujsag" (Hungarian); "Jednosc Polek" and "Kuryer" (Polish); and "The America" (Romanian).[15]

STUDY DESIGN

A "picture of the lives of Cleveland ethnics" was taken by the authors in the 1976 survey (Jeffres and Hur, 1978, 1979). We looked at ethnic media use, ethnic cultural patterns, ethnic politics, and other factors. The Communication Research Center contacted many of these same respondents again and solicited their cooperation in late 1980 and early in 1981. Most of the respondents were interviewed in December, 1980, or January, 1981. Respondents were sent mail questionnaires during the 1976 survey. They were contacted by telephone in the second survey, though 43 filled out mail questionnaires because they did not have telephones or for other reasons. Of the 13 ethnic groups surveyed in 1976, names and addresses were avilable for 11 groups composed of 671 people. Groups surveyed and the number interviewed again in 1980-81 were:

Irish (90); Greek (25); Czech (47); Italian (18); Lebanese (19); Hungarian (27); Lithuanian (24); Polish (32); Romanian (42); Slovene (51); and Ukrainian (16). The total of 392 successfully interviewed again in 1980-81 represents a completion rate of 58.5%.[16]

A basic questionnaire was designed to obtain the needed information and the general format followed in creating a questionnaire for each specific group in 1976. The same procedure was followed in creating the questionnaire and interview schedule four years later. Following are the variables tapped by the panel study. Because of the time constraints, not all questions from the 1976 survey were repeated four years later, but a few new ones were added.

Major Changes in Personal Lives and in the Ethnic Community--The questionnaire and interview began with questions asking for changes in respondents' personal lives and in their ethnic communities. Questions asked were: "First, how would you say your own life as a (Romanian-American) has changed in the past four years or so?" and "How would you say the (Lebanese) community here has changed in that time?" Both of these were placed at the start to solicit the most salient changes during the four-year period.

Ethnic Media Use--In both surveys respondents were asked how often they read their ethnic newspapers or listened to ethnic radio programs. In the second survey, we also asked whether respondents listened to the radio programs of any other ethnic groups, whether they patronized

ethnic radio advertisers, how they thought their ethnic media had changed during the four-year period, and what suggestions they had for improving ethnic media.

Metropolitan Mass Media Use & Evaluation--Respondents both times were asked how often they read the two major metropolitan daily papers, a weekly paper, and any others. They also were asked how much time they spent listening to the radio and watching TV on an average day, whether they had cable TV, and what they would like to see on cable TV. Respondent also were asked to evaluate the performance of both TV and the metro daily papers in covering the ethnic community. Following is the question asked: "How adequate a job would you say the TV stations do in covering the (Ukrainian) community in this area? Would you say the TV stations do a very good job, a good job, a fair job, a poor job, or a very poor job?" The same question was asked for the newspapers.

Ethnic Image in Media--Respondents both times were asked whether the media presented an image of their ethnic groups which was very favorable, somewhat favorable, neutral, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable. In 1980-81, they also were asked whether the image of (Irish) presented by the mass media had changed in the past few years, and gotten much better, gotten a bit better, remained about the same, gotten a bit worse, or gotten much worse.

Channel Preference--Both times respondents were asked which communication channel was most important for news

about the ethnic community and for news of the "mother country."

Ethnic Interpersonal Communication--Respondents in both surveys were asked for information about situations in which interpersonal communication occurs. To tap interpersonal communication networks the following information was obtained: participation in ethnic organizations and percentage of friends from the same ethnic group. In the 1976 survey we also obtained information about whether respondents had relatives in the mother country and, if so, how often they corresponded with them. We asked how often they had visited the mother country, and whether they participated in an ethnic church. One question asked was: "About what percentage of your close friends would you say are (Hungarian)? almost all, about two-thirds, about half, about a third, very few, or none?"

Ethnic Cultural Patterns--We also obtained information about the observance of ethnic customs and traditions in both surveys. Respondents were asked, "Do you observe or celebrate any (Lithuanian) holidays or festivals?" In 1976 ethnic identification was indexed using five items measured on five-point scales. Items used included such statements as: "I am extremely proud to be (Hungarian)" and "My (Polish) culture strongly affects my daily life." In the second survey, ethnic identification was obtained with the following question: "In the past four years many things have changed. I'd like you to think about your (Greek) heritage for a moment. Compared to how you

felt four years ago, would you say you feel much closer to other Greeks, feel a bit closer, feel about the same, feel a bit more distant from other Greeks, or feel much more distant?"

Ethnic Integration at Primary Level--Several measures tapped integration of ethnics at the primary level--family, friends, neighborhood. In the first survey we asked whether spouses were of the same ethnic group and in the second interview we identified any changes in marital status. We also asked whether respondents lived in an ethnic neighborhood. In both surveys we asked: "About what percentage of your neighbors would you say are (Lithuanian)? almost all, about two thirds, about half, about a third, very few, or none?" In the second survey we also asked what major ethnic groups were represented in the neighborhood and "Would you say you live in an ethnic neighborhood?" Integration at the primary level also represents a strengthening of the ethnic communication network.

Ethnic Political Involvement--Several measures tapped ethnic political involvement. Respondents were asked questions about their party identification, presidential voting, attention to the televised presidential debates, and reactions to salient ethnic political issues. In the first survey respondents were asked which presidential candidate they voted for in 1972 and 1976; voting also was tapped in the second survey for the 1980 election. Since presidential debates were prominent in both campaigns, several questions solicited information about whether respondents watched any

of the debates, how much they watched, and how important the debates were in helping them make up their mind for whom to vote. In the 1976 survey respondents were asked whether they were aware of two explicitly ethnic political issues and what their reactions were. One was President Gerald Ford's comment during the second presidential debate that Eastern Europe was not dominated by the Soviet Union, an issue of interest to the many Eastern Europeans in our sample. The other issue was Jimmy Carter's statement during the campaign that he favored the "ethnic purity" of ethnic neighborhoods (See Jeffres and Hur, 1979). In 1980-81, the following question was asked to tap salient ethnic political issues: "This was an election year again. Were there any issues that you would call ethnic issues in the presidential campaign? What were they?"

Other factors--We also obtained the traditional demographic variables, age, sex, income, education, occupation, etc. Furthermore, we asked whether respondents had ever visited the People's & Cultures store, then in the Flats, or gone on one of their ethnic tours.

DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

The 392 respondents in the final sample include 11 ethnic groups in the following proportions: Greek, 6.4%; Irish, 23%; Czech, 12%; Italian, 4.8%; Lebanese, 5.3%; Hungarian, 6.9%; Lithuanian, 5.9%; Polish, 7.9%; Romanian, 10.5%; Slovene, 13%; and Ukrainian, 4.1%. Those interviewed

in both surveys were compared with the 1976 sample to see if there were any major differences in terms of age, education, etc. As Tables 1-4 show in Appendix A, the panel participants are a bit older, somewhat more educated, and have slightly higher incomes, but overall differences between those in the panel sample and those not reinterviewed are minor.

There were a number of changes in the personal lives of our sample. About 7% changed their marital status; 11 people got married, 12 were widowed, and 4 were divorced or separated. Many in the panel also advanced their education; 14.8% of our 392 respondents went to either public school or college, while another 12% went to special courses, seminars, or trade schools. Respondents' incomes also advanced considerably during this period, which was a time of high inflation (see Table 5, Appendix A). Some 58% reported a growth in their incomes, while 11% said they earned less and 16% had no change. In 1976, only 18% of the sample reported incomes of more than $25,000. Four years later, 12% reported incomes between $25,001 and $30,000, and 23% reported income figures higher than that. And, while about a quarter of the panel had incomes of $10,000 or less in 1976, the proportion dropped to 17.5% in 1980-81. Those reporting drops in their income are largely people who retired during that period.

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Our analysis will describe the responses to our requests for information about ethnic communication in 1980-81, as well as changes from the earlier survey.

Changes in the Ethnic Community-- 36% Cite Growth, Improvement:

We asked our panel how their ethnic communities had changed over the four year period, and 36% either cited no changes or said things were about the same. A Lebanese-American, for example, said his community had been "more or less stable." However, an equal percentage cited improvements, growth or positive changes in their ethnic communities.

Changes were many and varied. Several Polish respondents noted the impact a Polish Pope has had on ethnic pride and how others view Polish people. "Since the Pope got in, Polish jokes are out and Polish pride is in," one man said. Others noted increased attention to their ethnic groups because of media coverage. A Polish resident said his group was noticed more "in the media because of the threat of the Russian invasion and the Polish Pope." A 46-year-old Irish man said there was more interest and talk concerning events in Northern Ireland. And a Slovene man said others were more aware of his ethnic group.

A large percentage of the comments centered around growth in the ethnic communities. Among the Polish, one man

noted the spirit represented by the grass-roots work in the Slavic Village development on Cleveland's southeast side. Another said the Polish community "is no longer a clan but is quite diverse." Polish people are no longer found only in small pockets within the city but are located throughout Cuyahoga County. Suburbs also are centers of ethnic community growth, in particular Parma, one Polish respondent noted. A Lebanese man said that his ethnic community also was spreading out more today, and several others noted there are "more people involved and more immigrants arriving." A Czech respondent spoke of "rejuvenation" and noted that the Sokol organization was going "very well, with more members." The Sokol Hall has become a community center, he added.

Similar comments were made about the Italian community. "Uplifting of Italian culture is seen everywhere. People are more proud of being Italian," one man said. "I think the Italian community is more aware of its heritage. It now offers programs in Italian culture, and younger children are now taught Italian in school--that's good," an Italian woman added. "A closeness of groups is forming," a 38-year-old man said. "There are opportunities for people to share their Italian heritage."

In the Irish community, people are "dramatically more aware of their roots and younger people are more interested in Irish cultural upkeep," one person said. An Irish woman said St. Patrick's Church was stronger than ever and the community was more active. "The leaders in the Irish community are as dedicated as ever," said one lady. "There

are younger leaders just as dedicated and with as much enthusiasm as the last generation. The Irish community is still strong and competing for attention and support." A professional Irish woman said the Irish community was "growing tighter together, with more people joining the Irish Cultural Institute and subscribing to the Ohio Irish Bulletin. The addition of an east-side Irish club was also noted. There are more cultural events and clubs, and people are more educated about their Irish culture and history, one woman noted.

The Lithuanian community also is "more aware" today, one woman in her mid 30's said. A Lithuanian man noted there is more unity among Lithuanians now and another said the community is more prosperous today. Lithuanian organizations are getting stronger, a man in his 20's said. A Slovene lady said the younger generation was taking an interest in the language and had a desire to see the homeland of their parents. "I think second and third generation Slovenes are more active in fraternal and cultural groups and are much more aware of their ethnic background," one woman said. A Romanian said there is "more emphasis on our cultural background" with the influx of new Romanians; however, some noted that newcomers expect much but give little to their ethnic communities.

A Hungarian man said "more people are involved now and they live further away from central communities." Another man in his mid 20s said "Hungarians are spread out all over, but we communicate all over the city. We are a close knit

communication network." The Ukrainian community has grown and is "more like a real community" now, according to a 45-year-old Ukrainian lady who is active in two organizations. "They make progress. They work in organizations, and send children to schools," said a lady taking English classes. "It is harder today, but we manage." A Greek respondent noted many changes in his community, pointing to a new Greek association and a Greek school where the language is taught. Another man in his mid 40's said there is more activity among Greeks, with more dances and other events in the West 14th Street area. One lady noted:

> "A community doesn't change that much in four years. As a whole, the people pride themselves on their ethnic background. They are more proud today. Traditions are strong and the community has grown. There has been a loss of the language, however. Each generation makes maintaining the language more difficult."

Not all ethnics saw growth and progress, and many sadly noted declines and a weakening of their ethnic communities. Some 25% of our sample cited declines in their ethnic communities. A Czech man said his community was more "modernized" and he "liked it better the old way. It's too fast living in modern America, customs and identity disappearing." Another Czech respondent said "older people are dying out and the new Czechs do not join." A 39-year-old Lebanese man said there was more intermarriage in his group and younger people seem less interested in the ethnic church. A Polish respondent said "There is no longer a melting pot. Most people are moving, especially the young

ones." Another Polish man said there has not been much change. He added, "They have stagnated for years. It was in the 1920's and 30's that it was a viable, volatile force in Cleveland cultural affairs. World War II put quieters on this, and it has not recovered since." Another Polish respondent bemoaned the loss of language, particularly among the young. He added, however, that observance of traditions remains stable.

The decline in ethnic neighborhoods that has occurred with an influx of newcomers and the flight of local ethnics was cited by several ethnic groups. An Italian respondent said "people are getting snobbish. If they have a couple dollars more than you, then they don't know you." An Irish-American said the group's political power has declined in recent years, and an Irish man said "we don't have much of a community" because "it's spread out." One Irish man said the community has changed considerably in the past four years, and "many have lost their identity." A Lithuanian man said fewer people participate today and another said the community has changed considerably in the past four years, and many have lost their Lithuanian identity."

A Lithuanian man said fewer people participate today, and another said the community was the same except that the older ones have "faded." One man said, "The Lithuanian community is getting older and many young members after graduating from colleges are moving where their jobs are offered." A Slovene man said "there are fewer of us. Younger people are not as interested." Another added that

many Slovenes have "become more Americanized." A Romanian said his ethnic group was "dying out, and younger ones are not active." A 52-year-old man said: "Yes, the younger Romanian generation in general is drifting away from its clique and becoming 'Americanized' in every sense of the word. In my parents' day, Romanians married Romanians. Among my generation and younger, this seldom happens any more."

In the Hungarian community, several people noted declines in Hungarian neighborhoods. "People are growing further apart. Young people are no longer hanging around. They are moving and old people are dying off," said one young Hungarian lady. Another man added, "The Buckeye Road area is a changing neighborhood...People are dispersing." A youth said, "We have an elderly group and a very young group, so there is now a more bi-lingual approach to the Hungarian organization." One Hungarian lady said many of her friends had dropped out of organizations and the community. A Hungarian man in his mid 20's said, "Young people are detached from the traditional atmosphere and they are not as involved as they used to be." Generation differences also were noted among some Ukrainians. "Children born in the U.S. are more American than Ukrainian," one man said. "They are not as nationalistic as they should be. The new generation has an 'I don't care attitude,'" a Ukrainian man said. The Ukrainian community has "becomer more Americanized," one person said. "The older generation is growing further away from the younger

generation," one person said. An active Ukrainian cited three changes: "Old people are dying. They were the active ones and they now get old, less active, and die. Because of this there are fewer members and fewer meetings." He added, "Churches are most important, but they are saying mass in English instead of Ukrainian." One man said Greeks are "giving up their national heritage" and "getting into the mainstream."

Many people cited several changes in their ethnic communities, with 4% citing four or five. Some 4.3% cited a decline in ethnic organizations, clubs and activities, while 13.6% cited increases. A Lebanese woman pointed to growth in membership of the National Association of Arab Americans, while another Lebanese lady said there were "not as many church affairs, social affairs, etc."

Among the other changes, 6.1% said younger people were keeping up customs and 7.7% noted the arrival of new ethnic immigrants. In the other direction, 13.8% said there were declines in their ethnic communities--people leaving the area, younger people leaving, or people becoming more dispersed. And 9.2% noted more intermarriage, assimilation, or "Americanization" as people "move into the mainstream."

Changes in ethnic feelings and identification also were noted by our panel. About 12.8% said people have drifted apart, become less cohesive, less "old world," but 12% said their ethnic group was more cohesive, involved, or closer knit, and an additional 12% said ethnics were more aware of their ethnicity. A half dozen respondents said there was

more discussion among ethnics. One Lebanese woman said her community was "less clannish."

Changes in Personal Lives--
More Active Ethnics:

We asked resondents how their "own life as a (Hungarian-American) has changed in the past four years or so," and more than half cited no changes or said there was no difference. Some 18.4% said they were either less active or there was not much change, while 21.7% said they were more active or much more active.

Many felt their own lives as ethnics had changed little at all, regardless of what had happened to the community. An Italian man said, "I don't think it has changed. It's always been good for me." Another Italian woman, age 56, said, "I have always felt Americanized, like my parents." An Irish lady said her life hadn't changed much but "my children have become more aware of their Irish heritage." A Slovene responded: "It hasn't. I have always been conscious of my heritage, but always as an American first. I lived in Yugoslavia for long periods and visited it many times--love the people, and am proud to be a Slovenian, but am happier to be an American." Thus, the question of change was a chance to reaffirm both ethnic and American identification. A middle-aged Polish man said "as a Polish-American, I still uphold traditions, but I don't think I've changed that much." A Hungarian youth said, "It hasn't changed because I have remained involved." A Ukrainian lady said, "I am elderly, so there's not too much change." One Greek woman

said, "It's stayed the same," but a Greek man said he had been in the country more than 60 years and there was no change because he was "now completely Americanized."

Among those who said their lives as ethnic Americans had changed, there were several different trends. One involved what people described as a positive strengthening of their ethnic identity. A Lebanese woman said, "I'm more aware of my Lebanese nationality" and "I'm more proud that people appreciate our foods, nationality, and religion." A Czech respondent said, "I am involved more now. I am retired and have more time for ethnic activities." An Italian man, age 37, said he was more involved and was "making my children more aware of their heritage." Several Irish respondents noted increased interest in their heritage, from music and entertainment, to traveling, politics and cultural traditions. A lady who celebrated her 75th birthday not long before the survey noted that she was given a "lovely surprise birthday party" by 50 or so of her Irish friends--complete with Irish dancers, an Irish fiddler, a bagpipe player, and lots of good food and drinks. A second-generation Irish woman said she was "more and more thrilled at being Irish-American," and another said she had gotten involved in Irish geneology. A 49-year-old Lithuanian woman said she has learned more about her heritage and now participates more in ethnic community affairs. An elderly Slovene man said he was more interested in things of Slovene heritage.

Several Polish respondents also noted a rebirth in their ethnic identification. One man said, "It has changed because there is a greater birth of nationalism with the events in Poland and with the Polish Pope. A new ethnicity has developed establishing pride in Polish-Americans." A young Hungarian lady said she had become more active in her group's social organizations and radio and TV. A Ukrainian man said he has "changed for the better--I like being Ukrainian in the U.S." A young mother said, "I have three children now and Ukrainian is spoken at home for the children to learn." And a Greek man in his mid 40's said he was "more active in Greek affairs, especially religion." A Romanian who has started Romanian language lessons said he was "much more aware of being a Romanian because I've seen so many newcomers lately from Romania." Thus, immigration not only adds to the size of the local ethnic community, but activates ties among those already here.

What are some of the ethnic behaviors people said they do more of? Some 9.2% of the panel said they were more active in ethnic organizations or their ethnic church, while 4.1% said they spoke their ethnic language more often or observed more ethnic customs, traditions and holidays.

Moving in the other direction, about 4% of the panel said they engage in fewer ethnic activities or observe fewer customs. A Lebanese lady said, "Some of our traditions have fallen away. Divorce is getting to be more popular among our young. Years ago, if someone made a bad choice in marriage, they stuck it out." An Italian man, age 38, said,

"I feel that we are losing some traditions. The old way of the closeness of the family is deteriorating." One woman said she was "not using the Slovene language as much as I used to," but she added that she still was active in ethnic groups. Another Slovene said it has "changed a lot--it's dying off." A Romanian man said he was less involved in Romanian activities, had few Romanians among his friends now, and was not at all conscious of his ethnic identity. A Ukrainian man in his mid 30s said, "I see other Ukrainians less now," and a Greek man said he has adopted some American ways and has more American friends now than previously.

Other things salient to our sample were travel, ethnic friendships, and feelings about their ethnic heritage. A half dozen said they have fewer ethnic friendships, friends and neighbors than they did four years ago, while another half dozen said they have more. Almost 11% of the panel said they felt more interested in their ethnic heritage and felt more ethnic. About a half dozen said they had traveled to the "mother country" since the first survey.

Ethnic Mass Media Communication--
Print the Same, but Radio Drops:

Both interpersonal and mass communication are instrumental in providing continuity to ethnic groups. Fathi (1973) argues that the culture and language of Canada's ethnic minorities today are less in danger of extinction because of the advance of communication technology which facilitates contact between ethnics that are separated by often substantial distances. Thus,

communication links ethnics to each other, and ethnic groups depend on communication networks to maintain group solidarity and coordinate activities.

If media links among ethnics are important, then changes in media consumption would be an indicator of changes within the ethnic groups themselves. How did the audience behaviors of the ethnics tapped by our panel survey change? With a drop in available ethnic-language radio programming, we expected a decline in listening among our panel. However, the drop was some 50%. As Table 3 shows, the average number of hours our panel spent listening to ethnic radio programs each month went from 10.8 in 1976 to less than 5 in 1980. Looking at individual changes, we find that 53% listened to fewer hours, 32% to the same number of hours, and 15% to more hours of ethnic radio programs. While 29% said they listened to no ethnic radio programs in 1976, almost half cited none in 1980-81. The average number of ethnic radio programs listened to also fell from almost two to about one. Some of the drop may be temporary and a consequence of the confusion surrounding changes in radio schedules. Since the change in radio formats was quite recent, some respondents may not have had time to locate their ethnic programs on other radio stations.

Now and then a respondent cited an ethnic radio program not on our original list. An open-ended question was designed to obtain precisely that information. We also asked whether people listened to the radio programs of other groups, and responses show a substantial amount of

TABLE 3

CHANGES IN ATTENTION TO ETHNIC RADIO PROGRAMMING

Number of Ethnic Radio Programs Listened to:	1976		1980	
None	115	(31%)	192	(50%)
1	98	(26%)	83	(21%)
2	47	(13%)	65	(17%)
3	24	(6%)	36	(9%)
4	36	(10%)	9	(2%)
5	20	(5%)	4	(1%)
6 or more	32	(8%)	-	
Missing information	20	(5%)	3	(1%)
Total	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Average	1.981		.97	
Percentage listening to fewer ethnic programs			50%	
Percentage listening to same number of programs			42%	
Percentage listening to more ethnic programs			8%	

Number of Hours Listen to Ethnic Programming each month	1976		1980	
None	89	(23%)	183	(47%)
1-5 hours	120	(31%)	92	(23%)
6-10	49	(12%)	61	(16%)
11-20	34	(9%)	18	(5%)
21-30	16	(4%)	8	(2%)
31-40	12	(3%)	6	(2%)
41-50	8	(2%)	4	(1%)
51-60	7	(2%)	1	(-%)
more than 60 hours	14	(4%)	-	
Missing information	43	(10%)	19	(5%)
Total	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Average:	10.8		4.3	
Percentage listening to fewer hours of ethnic programming			53%	
Percentage listening to same number of hours			32%	
Percentage listening to more hours of ethnic programming			15%	

Note: Because of missing information, the percentages referring to increases and decreases in the number of radio programs listened to are based on a total of 369 respondents. The figure for time spent listening is 333 respondents.

cross-ethnic listening. In all ethnic groups, there were respondents who cited programs from outside their group. For example, while four radio programs were patronized by our Slovene respondents, they also cited the following groups' radio programs: Croatian, Bohemian, Hungarian, Greek, Polish, German, Spanish, French, Serbian, Slovak, and Czech. Some 11 people said they listened to the German radio program sometimes. Within the Polish sample, a half dozen cited Slovene radio programs and a half dozen cited Italian programs. A Ukrainian man said he flipped on the radio to WZAK at 6 p.m. and listened until it went off the air, but another man said he didn't listen to his ethnic group's radio program because it came on too early in the morning. A list of recent ethnic radio programs is in Table 4; see Appendix A, Table 8, for a list of ethnic media cited by respondents in our survey panel.

In the second survey, we asked respondents if they recalled any of the sponsors of ethnic radio programs. Some 31.4% of the sample cited one or more sponsors, and this represents more than half of those who said they listened to ethnic radio programs. A wide variety of sponsors were recalled for ethnic radio programs. For example, a half dozen Slovene respondents cited Kollander Travel and Sims Brothers Buick. In fact, only three Slovenes who listened to any of their ethnic radio programs did not cite a particular sponsor. Among the Polish sample, Third Federal Savings was the most often-cited sponsor, and for Italians it was Alesci's. The Athens Pastry Shop and Greek House

TABLE 4

ETHNIC RADIO BROADCASTING IN THE CLEVELAND AREA

German Programs:	
Ida Peter's German Show, WJW, 6-7 p.m. Sundays.	Has been on WJW since last December; until then she had been doing a show on WZAK off and on since 1976.
Hans Richter, German music, 2-3 p.m. Saturdays, WELW.	
German program, 5:30-7 p.m. Sundays, WAUP-FM (88.1)Akron	
Irene Rudolph Dilworth,NBN (106 FM/SCA)3-4p.m.Mon.-Fri.	
Peter Weber German Show, 12 noon-1 p.m. Saturdays on WCSB-FM (89.3) - German brass music.	
Herb Haller, formerly on WBBG.	From April, 1981, to April, 1982 was on WBBG from 11-12 noon Sundays.
Slovene Programs:	
Tony's Polka Village, Tony Petkovsek, WELW(1300) Mondays-Fridays 4-5 p.m., & Saturdays 12 noon-1:30 p.m. Also on NBN(106 FM/SCA) 12 noon-1:30 p.m. Saturdays.	Was on WZAK at end of 1980.
Paul Levrisha, WELW, 11 a.m. -12 noon Saturdays.	In late 1980 he assisted Tony Petkovsek on his show.
Polka Nightcap Show, Paul Wilcox, WBBG (1260 AM) 9-10 p.m. Sundays.	Has been on WBBG about a year. Was on WZAK in late 1980.
Slovenian Hour, Ed & Dale Bucar, 10-12 noon Sundays, WELW (1300). Also have Suppertime Polka show 5-6 p.m. Monday through Saturday on WELW.	
Slovenian Hour, Milan Pavlovcic, 6-7 p.m. Mondays & Tuesdays, & 12 n.-1 p.m. Sundays, WCSB-FM (89.3).	

(Continued)

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Polish Programs:	
"Polish Palace," Frank & Kristina Swita, NBN(106 FM/ SCA)9-10 p.m. Fri.	Has been on the radio for some 20 years. Was on WZAK at end of 1980.
"Memories of Poland," Joe & Doloris Szulecki, NBN(106 FM/SCA) Mon.-Fri. 10-11 p.m. and Saturday 8-10 a.m.; also have Polish Hour, 11-12 n.. Saturdays, WCSB-FM (89.3).	
Jerry & Eugenia Stolarczyk, 9-10:30 a.m. Sundays, WERE.	
Polka Hour, 10-11 a.m. Sun., WJW.	
Polish program, 7-9 p.m. Sun., WAUP-FM (88.1), Akron.	
Polish Hour, Kenny Bass, 9-10 a.m. Sundays, WBKC (1560 AM).	
Slovak Programs:	
James J. Koscak & John Biro, 11-12 noon, Sundays on WERE-AM.	Has been doing a Slovak radio show since 1960; WERE has had a Slovak radio show since the 1940's. At the end of 1980 also had a show on WZAK.
Slovak Hour, Bernie Suhayda Sundays on WAUP-FM(88.1), Akron, 4-5:30 p.m.	
Romanian Programs:	
Rev. David Pascu, 6-6:30 a.m. every other Sunday on WZZP, and 9-10 a.m. Sundays on NBN(106 FM/SCA).	Has been on the air since the 1940's. In 1980, had a Sunday morning show from 9-10 a.m. on WZZP.
Czech Programs:	
Vaclav Hyvnar, 6-7 p.m. Thursdays on WCSB-FM (89.3).	His wife is editor of Czech newspaper "Neouzsvet." He had a radio show on WZAK Thursday evenings for 13 years.
Czech Voice of Cleveland, Joe Kocab, 7:30-8:30 a.m. Sundays on WBBG-AM (1260) and 6-7 p.m. Thursdays on WCSB-FM (89.3).	Was Vaclav Hivnar's partner at WZAK for some 13 years.
Zdenek & Evelyn Prazak, WERE-AM (1300) 10:30-11 a.m. Sundays.	

(Continued)

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Spanish Programs:	
Edwin Castro, 8-12 midnight Sundays on WZAK and 12 noon to 3 p.m. Mondays through Fridays on NBN(106FM/SCA).	Has been with WZAK for about 6 years (on and off).
Nelson Cintron, 1:30-5 p.m. Saturdays on NBN(106FM/SCA).	
Spanish program, 1-3 p.m. Mon. through Fri. on NBN(106FM/SCA).	
Cristol Latino, Louis Torres, 1-2 p.m. Sat.. WCSB-FM (89.3).	
Actualidades Bilingues, 2-3 p.m. Saturdays, WCSB-FM (89.3).	
Croatian Programs:	
Croatian Hour, Nevo Kovacevic, 2-3 p.m. Sunday on WELW (1300).	
Croatian Hour, Ed & Dale Bucar, 9-10 a.m. Sunday, WELW	
John Skrikin, not currently producing a program.	Has been off the air since WXEN changed formats. Had program on WXEN for 14 years, playing traditional, contemporary, classical music and opera interspersed with political & historical commentaries, poetry and tales of tradition and folklore. Preceded in Croatian broadcasting by the popular John Birek.[2]
Ukrainian Programs:	
Steve Zorij, 6:30-7 p.m. every other Sunday on WZZP and every Sunday from 10:30-11 p.m. on WJW.	Has been doing a radio program since coming to the U.S. in 1956. In 1980, had a show on WZZP.

(Continued)

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Hungarian Programs: Miklos & Maria Kossanyi, NBN(106FM/SCA), 5-8 p.m. producers of daily programs; specifics below.	Owners and operators of the Nationalities Broadcasting Network. Previously had a program on WZAK.
Leslie Dus, 5-6 p.m. Sundays on NBN(106FM/SCA).	
Catholic Hour, Dr. Rosta Lajos, 5-6 p.m. Mon.. NBN(106FM/SCA).	
Hungarian Folk Music, Marko Istvan,6-7 p.m. Mon.-Fri.,NBN.	
Radio Magazine, 7-8 p.m. Mon. NBN(106FM), Dr. Paul Lote, Dr. Bognarne Gosztonyi Marta, Gereben Istvan, and Lote Lajos; Fri. with Vigh Ildiko.	Dr. Lote had program 7:30-8 p.m. Thur. on WZAK in 1980.
News Review, Nagy Kornel,6-7 p.m. Tuesday, NBN(106FM/SCA).	
News Program, Torma Csongor, 7-8 p.m. Tues., NBN(106FM/SCA).	
World News, Miklos Kossanyi, NBN(106FM/SCA) 6-7 p.m. Wed.	
Screen Play, Kalnoki Kis Tibor, David Gyula, 7-8 p.m. Wed. NBN.	
News, Buza Gyorgy, 6:45-7 p.m. Thurs., NBN(106FM/SCA).	
Classical Music, B.Ormay Ildiko, 7-8 p.m. Thurs., NBN(106FM/SCA).	
Sports Scene & Light Music, Liter Agoston, 5-8 p.m. Sat. NBN.	
Radio Theater, Szabadkay Sandor, 6-7 p.m. Sun., NBN(106FM/SCA).	
Hungarian show, Andrew Dono, 1:30-2 p.m. Sundays, WELW.	
Hungarian Hour, Dr. Geza Eles, 5-6 p.m. Wed.,WCSB-FM (89.3).	

(Continued)

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Hungarian Programs (cont.):	
Ernie Hudak, 12 n.-1 p.m. Sundays, WELW.	
Kathy Kapossy, 5:30-6:30 p.m. Sundays, WELW.	
Hungarian program, 8-9 a.m. Sundays, WAUP-FM (88.1), Akron, Rev. Tibor Domotor.	
Mrs. Henry McBride, 10-11 a.m. Sundays, WBKC (1560 AM).	
Irish Programs:	
Echoes of Erin, Mike & Mary Comer, WZLE 5-7 p.m. Sundays.	Began with WXEN when that station was starting 25 years ago and switched to WZAK when WXEN changed formats. Had 10 to midnight show Monday & Tuesday. Was on WZAK in 1980.
Irish Hour, Pat Talty, 8-9 a.m. Sundays, WELW (1330, Willoughby).	
Irish Music, Jerry Quinn, 1:30-2 p.m. Saturday, WELW (1330).	
Irish Hours, Henry & Ann McBride, 11 a.m.-1 p.m.. Sundays, WBKC (1560 AM).	
Italian Programs:	
Biagio Parente, 1-2 p.m. Sundays, NBN(106FM/SCA).	
Italian show, Mike Santoli, 1-1:30 & 4:30-5:30 p.m. Sundays, WELW.	
Italian program, 12n.- 2 p.m. Sundays, WAUP-FM(88.1),Akron.	
Italian Hour, George Juliano, 9-10 a.m. Sundays, WJW.	
An Italian program is planned on WCSB-FM (89.3), beginning in July, 1982.	

(Continued)

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Greek Programs:	
Xen Papageorge, 9-10 a.m. Monday through Friday, 8-10 p.m. Mon.-Thur., 8-9 p.m. Fri., 9-11 p.m. Sat. 2-5 p.m. Sun. on NBN(106FM/SCA).	
Xen & Lula Zapis, WZAK-FM, Sundays 9-10 a.m.	Another Greek radio program was aired by John Suckelitus on WXEN until that station changed formats.
Greek program, 2-4 p.m. Sundays, WAUP-FM(88.1).	
Jewish Programs:	
Breakfast with Phil Fink, Phil Fink's Jewish program, weekdays 9:05-10 a.m., WELW (1330)	
Jewish Scene in Cleveland, 10:30-11:30 a.m. Sundays, WCLV.	
Lithuanian Programs:	
Lithuanian Hour, 7-8 p.m., Sundays, WJW.	
Hindi Programs:	
Joe Thomas, currently not on the air.	Had show on NBN(106FM/SCA) for 8 months in 1981; also did show on WZAK for a year in 1975.
Arabic Programs:	
Abby Mira, currently not on the air.	Had program on WZAK for some 7 years, 9:30-11 p.m. Wednesdays, until April, 1981 when WZAK changed formats.
French Programs:	
Mrs. Dautarta, 4-5 p.m. Fridays on NBN(106FM/SCA).	
Bulgarian Programs:	
George Petrov, 8-9 a.m. Sundays on NBN(106FM/SCA).	Was on WZAK in 1980.

(Continued)

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Serbian Programs:	
Milan Vukadinovic, 8-9 p.m. Saturday and 9-10 p.m. Sunday on NBN(106FM/SCA).	Also does show on NBN-TV 5:30-6 p.m. Sunday and 6:30-7 p.m. Thursday. In 1980, had radio show on WZZP at same time and several years ago had show on WXEN. Charlie Brkic also had a Serbian radio show on WZAK on Sundays 4-5 p.m. for about 15 years.[3]
British Programs:	
Florence Duncan, 6:30-7 p.m. Tuesday evenings on WCSB-FM (89.3), beginning June 1, 1982.	Had program Friday evenings on WZAK for more than 11 years, until Feb. 27, 1982.
Other Programs:	
Multi-National Hour, Mario Kavcic, 10-11 p.m., Sundays, WBBG.	

1. Interview with James J.Koscak, May 7, 1982.
2. Interview with John Skrikin, May 11, 1982.
3. Interview with Milan Vukadinovic, May 13, 1982.

were cited by numerous Greek respondents. Both the Ukrainian and Irish samples included mentions of ethnic gift shops. Balassa Travel Bureau was cited by many Hungarians in the sample, and several Lithuanians cited either Jakubs & Son Funeral Home or Superior Savings. Among the Czechs, First Federal was cited many times.

We also asked whether our panel patronized the businesses that advertise on ethnic radio programs, and more than a third of the entire sample said yes. In general, those who recalled sponsors said they do patronize them when the opportunity arises. For example, 25 of the 28 Slovenes who recalled radio sponsors said they patronize those businesses. Similar percentages were found for the other ethnic groups. Two Ukrainians, for example, said they try to patronzie State Meats and ethnic stands in the West Side Market. A Hungarian respondent said his family tries to patronize businesses in the Buckeye area when they're in the vicinity. And an Irish woman said she also tries to patronize advertisers in the East Side Irish-American Club newsletter, Schanachie. However, some respondents were like a Lebanese woman who said she had "no opportunity to patronize such advertisers."

The drop in radio listening was not matched by attention to ethnic print media. As Table 5 shows, the average number of ethnic newspapers and magazines read was 1.83 in 1976 and 1.79 in 1980-81, virtually the same. Almost three quarters of the panel said they read at least one ethnic newspaper or magazine in 1980-81. Some 26.3%

TABLE 5

CHANGES IN THE USE OF ETHNIC PRINT MEDIA[1]

No. used	1976						1980-81	
	Newspapers		Magazines		Both		Both	
None	128	(33%)	148	(38%)	112	(29%)	95	(24%)
1	79	(20%)	71	(18%)	79	(20%)	103	(26%)
2	70	(18%)	31	(8%)	58	(15%)	75	(19%)
3	34	(9%)	6	(2%)	38	(10%)	61	(16%)
4 or more	29	(7%)	7	(2%)	64	(16%)	53	(14%)
Missing info	52	(13%)	129	(33%)	41	(10%)	5	(1%)
Total:	392	(100%)	392	(100%)	392	(100%)	392	(100%
Average:					1.83		1.79	
Percentage reading more ethnic magazines and newspapers					37%			
Percentage reading fewer ethnic magazines and newspapers					27%			
Percentage reading the same number					36%			

1. Separate questions were asked on the mail questionnaire for newspapers and magazines in 1976. Many people left one or the other blank, and these are listed in the table as missing data in the separate totals. For the combined 1976 total, missing information was coded as zero unless both were left blank (10%). It is likely that people left it blank when they read no papers or magazines. In the 1980-81 survey a single question was asked for both ethnic newspapers and magazines.

read one, 19.2% read two and 15.6% read three. Almost 15% read four or more ethnic publications. Looking at individual changes, we find 37% of our panel reporting no change, with 37% reading more and 27% reading fewer ethnic publications.

People's use of ethnic publications is hampered by language problems often times. One man said he gets Hungarian Herik and scans it, but "I really don't read Hungarian too well anymore." A Lebanese woman said she doesn't read Arabic but does read the church paper and an English-language Lebanese journal. Another Lebanese woman said, "I can't read Arabic, but luckily I can speak it." At the other end of the scale are respondents who consume large numbers of ethnic print material. A Ukrainian man with a voracious appetite for such material said he regularly reads 10 publications of his ethnic group.

In addition to the newspapers listed on the interview schedule and questionnaire, we asked whether respondents read any other ethnic newspapers or magazines regularly. As Table 4 shows, many of the ethnic groups' lists illustrate the same diversity that exists among the general circulation magazines in the U.S.--daily and weekly newspapers, general family magazines, children's and youths' magazines, fraternal publications, professional ethnic group magazines, church and other religious newsletters and magazines, scholarly journals, weekly news magazines, women's magazines, and political and patriotic publications.

Our panel was asked for changes they had seen in their ethnic media in recent years. Some 8.2% said there were fewer ethnic papers, radio programs, or ethnic media in general, while 4% cited an increase. A Polish man said, "We don't have a Cleveland paper anymore, but the other publications are stable." A Greek respondent said the two Greek papers didn't even exist four years ago, at the time of the first survey, and another noted that Greek radio programs had dropped because of lack of advertisers. A Ukrainian lady noted a similar drop in radio programs directed to her ethnic group, and the remaining one is at an inconvenient early morning hour, she added.

Another 8% of the sample noted a general improvement in the quality of their ethnic media, and 4% said their media were more informative. For example, a Hungarian man who noted there were fewer Hungarian radio programs said that the remaining Hungarian papers are "getting much better." A Hungarian youth said his media "are more professional" and another said "they try to gear themselves to young Hungarians." A woman in her late 30's said Lithuanian media are "more current today," and another said Lithuanian radio programs are "perfect." One man said there was better music and "more up-to-date" news in Romanian media because the audience is better educated. Another Romanian noted an improvement in newspaper writing, and a more factual product. Greek media also have become more informative, one man noted. A Lebanese woman said her media provided "more information on the Middle East," and she welcomed that.

Several Irish respondents said Irish publications have maintained a high standard and seem to be more professional and more informative. They're also "more outspoken," one man added. The Irish Bulletin does a "great job," one woman said.

Other changes noted were: ethnic media are more professional, media support ethnic traditions and customs more now, ethnic media are more international, and ethnic media are more "Americanized." A Slovene respondent noted an increase in the use of English in her newspapers, and a Romanian woman said her group's media were "more modern" because of their "appeal to the younger generation." One middle-aged man said his group's radio programs "seek to draw more Americans into the programming than just Poles." One man said that "Greek media have been oriented toward the community rather than the Greek population as a whole." A Hungarian said "the leadership has changed but the content has not."

We also asked for suggested changes our panel would recommend for their ethnic media, and 27.8% offered one or more. Almost 17% of our panel suggested "more" of something was needed, from more ethnic newspapers and radio programs to particular content. Respondents cited the need for more ethnic news, music and cultural content such as history, education and plays, and children's or youth-oriented programs.

Changes in the staffs or performance of ethnic media were suggested by 8.7% of our panel: staffs should be more

professional, the news should be less biased and more sides presented, ethnic languages should be used more often, more news should be presented from the "mother country," and religion and ethnic churches should receive better coverage. Better distribution for newspapers and better scheduling for radio programs also were cited. Some pointed to a need for more publicity about the ethnic media themselves. Following are some of the suggestions for particular ethnic media:

Greek Media:

*"Direct broadcasting from Greek radio stations would be nice, especially news programs."
*A story hour for people in simple Greek language was suggested by a woman in her early 40's.
*Greek media "should be more objective in their coverage, and they should have a comics section," one man noted.
*Add more culture, educational content on TV, and more music on the radio, others said.

Hungarian Media:

*"Try to get more people involved who have communication experience," a youth suggested.
*"They need to diversify into English publications and Hungarian programs/publications."
*More Hungarian media are needed, particularly for older people.
*"They should be more proud of nationalities history as part of American history," one man noted.
*Hungarian newspapers should emphasize cultural things more and political matters less, one man suggested.
*Do a better job of advertising what's happening.
*Provide newspaper sections for younger people.

Irish Media:

*Provide more current news of Ireland, one woman said.
*More arts, plays, music, news are needed, several said.
*Make the news "less one-sided," one woman said.
*"Cover the war in the North more," a lady said.
*More public relations is needed to let the community in general know about the existence of Irish media, a woman said.
*Put more Irish plays on television, one suggested.

Ukrainian Media:

*More Ukrainian media are needed, and they should be stronger and "fight for the Ukraine," one person said.

*"The style of writing and format could be improved," one lady said. "The articles are too wordy and the headlines are not catchy."

*"We need more nationality radio and an all-day ethnic station."

*"More Ukrainian radio programs at later times in the day" are needed, said one woman, "plus ethnic programs should be on TV."

*"They should modernize their philosophical viewpoints," a Ukrainian in his 30's suggested.

Italian Media:

*"The best thing they could do is make it more English oriented, possibly a translation newspaper," said a man in his mid 30's.

*People should be contacted by mail and other means to let them know about the radio programs.

*"I would like to hear more news about Italy," an elderly man said.

*More radio programs are needed.

Polish Media:

*"They should play more European music rather than U.S. Polish music" on the radio, one man said.

*Ethnic radio programs "do too much talking," one man said.

*"Besides music, they should have traditional programs with language, books, translations, etc. Should offer visibility to ethnic activities such as debutante balls. Many do not know of their Polish heritage," a 50-year-old man said.

*Improve the hours of radio programs and improve the quality of Polish spoken.

*Polish people and their media must be "cohesive" in trying to reach their goals.

Slovene Media:

*"As for the radio programs, they could do with fewer polka bands and play more vocals," one person said.

*"Ethnics should get together and buy a radio station," said a man in his early 30's. "Cable TV would be good. Bring in movies from Yugoslavia."

*"More community interest is needed."

*"Less advertising, more music from Slovenia, more classical music," were suggested by one person.

*"More articles on lodges."

*More magazines and European news also were suggested.

Lithuanian Media:

*Have more media available at different times.
*More variety is needed, one person suggested.
*Lithuanian media should "be more objective once in a while," a man said.
*We need more Lithuanian radio programs and a "better chance for all ethnic groups to be heard," said a Lithuanian woman in her mid 30's.
*"They should pay attention to young people, because they will have to carry on the traditions," one woman said.
*A woman who said Lithuanian radio is "perfect" added that Lithuanian newspapers "should stick to local news."
*One woman suggested that more young people write and be active in Lithuanian media.
*"Certain items should be in both languages, Lithuanian and English," one man said.

Czech Media:

*We "need more local Czech activities in the paper."
*"We must face reality and upgrade the quality and sophistication of our media. They must be better educated and modernized," one woman said.
*"More old tradition" is needed.
*"Play old-time Czech music instead of rock and roll," a man said.
*"Records are in bad condition (on ethnic radio) and the quality of music" is affected.
*More daily Czech radio programs are needed.

Furthermore, a Lebanese woman said her media should have "more news about Lebanon--there's so much trouble there." And a Romanian respondent said there should be "more modern appeal to the younger generation."

Cable television is the newest medium to serve ethnic audiences and our panel shows considerable interest in the possibility. Respondents were asked whether they would subscribe to cable TV if ethnic programs were available. In the second survey, 5% of the panel got cable TV, and 37% said they definitely or probably would subscribe were ethnic programming available. An additional 18% said "maybe" and 12% said they probably would not subscribe. Some 23% said they would not subscribe.

What types of ethnic programs would our panel like to see on cable TV? Many suggestions were made. Among the most popular were: ethnic dancing; music of all types; cultural programs--traditions, folklore, etc.; news and public affairs programs; history; movies; and theater-drama. These were cited by someone from almost all ethnic groups. Also favored by representatives of about half of the groups were: variety programs; political content; travel shows, educational programs; and entertainment/comedy programs. Others cited were: sports, language lessons, book reviews and literature; festivals; documentaries; poetry; cooking; opera; biographies; serials; talk shows; panels; children's shows; architecture; economics; game shows; religious programs; Jazz from Europe, etc.

Many of the preferences were quite specific. A Lithuanian respondent said he would like to see Lithuanian programs "but without the strings attached." Irish respondents cited programs about St. Patrick's Day, programs from novels such as "Trinity," Irish reels, step dancers and bagpipes, Lee & Clancy, Geraldine Fitzgerald and Irish street songs, and history of the Irish in America. A Lebanese man said he would like to get programs from Lebanon only if they were in French, but not Arabic. And another Lebanese woman said she would like to see not only Lebanese dancing but also that of other groups such as the Greeks and Jews. A Ukrainian said she would like to see programs from the Ukraine but only if they "would not come with Russian propaganda." A Hungarian woman in her early 30's said she

would like to see older movies from Hungary but "not recently done ones--they are all stilted." A Greek woman said she would like to see news about Greeks in South America and in Canada. One respondent said "Greek TV's not very good," and another said he would like to see "ancient Greek dramas brought back--film of Greece, not typical Greek programs."

We specifically asked whether our panel would like to see TV programs from the "mother country" and 80% of those responding to the question said yes.

Interpersonal Communication-
Ties Linking Ethnics Together:

The opportunities for face-to-face communication among ethnics occur in a variety of situations--neighborhoods, churches, organizations. Ethnic groups also depend on such interpersonal communication networks to coordinate their activities. Deutsch (1964) notes that communication links within groups reflect the extent to which an individual is integrated within that group or community. Studies by Kutner (1976) and Laumann (1973) place importance on such interpersonal communication networks as friendship and participation in voluntary organizations in the analysis of ethnicity. Laumann (1973) identified friendship networks as interlocking and found ethnic social groups more congenial to the emergence of such networks. Kutner's (1976) work on voluntary organization participation also indicated that ethnic variation in participation was related to ethnic

identity and other factors like involvement in informal social networks.

In our survey, several measures tap the extent to which our panel participants are linked to other ethnics. In both surveys we asked respondents to indicate how many of their close friends were of the same ethnic group. In 1980, 19% said almost all their friends were of the same group, while 28% said about two thirds were and 21% about half. Comparing this with the 1976 figure, we find a slight increase in the overall average, though an examination of individual changes finds 28% indicating more ethnic friends and 28% indicating fewer ethnic friends; no changes were found for 45% of the panel (See Table 6).

Organizational membership has always been important in the United States, and we asked our panel in both surveys to list the ethnic social, religious and cultural groups to which they belonged. Though there was a slight drop in the overall average, only 19% reported no groups and some cited as many as eight organizations. No change was found for 35% of our panel, while 43% reported fewer organizations and 23% more organizations. About 8% cited five or more organizations, 21% cited three or four, 19% cited two and 32% cited one (See Table 7). About a third of our sample listed an ethnic church or church group among the ethnic organizations to which they belonged. Thus, the church remains a central place of interaction within the ethnic community. For some groups the church remains the major

TABLE 6

CHANGES IN ETHNIC FRIENDSHIP NETWORK

Percentage of friends from same ethnic group	1976		1980-81	
Almost all	88	(22%)	75	(19%)
About two thirds	85	(22%)	111	(28%)
About half	85	(22%)	81	(21%)
About a third	67	(17%)	57	(15%)
Very few	62	(16%)	53	(14%)
None	2	(1%)	9	(2%)
Missing information	3	(1%)	6	(2%)
Total	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Average:[1]	3.17		3.18	
Percentage with more ethnic friends				28%
Percentage with fewer ethnic friends				28%
Percentage with no change				45%

[1] To compute the average, none=0; very few=1, about a third=2; about half=3; about two thirds=4; almost all=5.

TABLE 7

CHANGES IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION

No. of ethnic social, religious & cultural organizations belong to:	1976		1980-81	
None	24	(6%)	75	(19%)
1	129	(33%)	127	(32%)
2	92	(23%)	76	(19%)
3	65	(17%)	52	(13%)
4	63	(16%)	29	(7%)
5 or more	10	(3%)	31	(8%)
Missing information	9	(2%)	2	(1%)
Total:	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Average:	2.14		1.88	
Percentage belonging to fewer organizations			43%	
Percentage belonging to more organizations			23%	
Percentage with no change			35%	
Percentage belonging to ethnic church	179	(46%)	126	(32%)

institution since geographically-defined ethnic neighborhoods do not exist for them.

The range of ethnic groups cited by our panel illustrates the diversity of ethnic life. Included are: religious groups (e.g., Polish Roman Catholic Union), lodges and fraternal groups (e.g., Slovene Fraternal Lodge, Cleveland Society of Poles), political groups (e.g., Hungarian Republican Club, Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation), cultural groups (e.g., Italian Sons & Daughters of America, Irish Cultural Institute, Ukrainian Cultural Society), elderly groups (e.g.. Lithuanian Senior Citizen Club), youth scout groups (e.g., Hungarian Girl Scouts, Lithuanian Scouts Association), language groups (e.g, Hungarian Language School), sports groups (e.g., Hungarian Athletic Club, Lithuanian Ski Club), dance groups (e.g., Sezatoarea dance group, Lithuanian Folk Art Ensemble), youth groups (e.g., CSU Lithuanian Club), professional groups (e.g, Ukrainian Business and Professional organization, Ukrainian Medical Association), men's and women's groups (e.g., Association of Polish Women, a Ukrainian Catholic Church men's club), veterans and military groups (e.g., Polish Legion of American Veterans), musical groups (e.g.. Halina Singing Society), social clubs (e.g., West Side Irish-American Club), and many others.

Neighborhoods remain the center of activities for many ethnics in the Cleveland area, and, among our panel participants, there is a slight increase in the percentage of neighbors from the same ethnic group, as Table 8 shows.

A fifth of the panel said none of their neighbors were from the same group, while an additional 47% said very few were. Some 19% said a third or fourth of their neighbors shared their ethnic background, while 12% said from half to all of their neighbors were of the same group. We asked respondents whether they thought they lived in an ethnic neighborhood and almost 39% said yes. We then asked what ethnic groups were represented in their neighborhood. Almost 30% cited their own ethnic group, and 34% cited other Eastern European ethnic groups. Some 4% cited Blacks and 2.5% cited Asian ethnics. Other groups cited were: "Americans, WASPs," 4%; Jewish, 2.5%; and Hispanics, 2%.

Ethnic Cultural Patterns--
38% Feel Closer to Heritage:

People's ethnic culture covers a lot of ground, from language to customs, and from such common daily behaviors as cooking to feelings about one's personal ethnic identity. In the first survey we found considerable evidence that many people continued their ethnic practices: almost a third of respondents' children spoke the ethnic language, more than half of the respondents talked to their children about their ethnic heritage very often or "sometimes"; almost half of the 1976 sample were either very fluent or moderately fluent in their ethnic language; 27% spoke the language at home most the time or "usually"; four in ten thought the ethnic language was very important; about half cooked ethnic food every day or at least twice a week; and at least three quarters observed one or more ethnic holidays or festivals. Furthermore, a series of items tapped people's ethnic

TABLE 8

MOVEMENT IN AND OUT OF ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOODS

Percentage of Neighbors from same Ethnic Group	1976		1980-81	
Almost all	10	(3%)	5	(1%)
About two thirds	13	(3%)	11	(3%)
About half	22	(6%)	30	(8%)
About a third	65	(17%)	74	(19%)
Very few	199	(51%)	183	(47%)
None	79	(20%)	80	(20%)
Missing information	4	(1%)	10	(2%)
Average[1]	1.28		1.28	
Percentage citing no change:			59%	
Percentage citing fewer ethnic neighbors			20%	
Percentage citing more ethnic neighbors *			21%	

[1] To compute the average, 0= none; 1= very few; 2= about a third; 3= about half; 4= about two thirds; 5= almost all ethnic group=5.

identity--30% strongly agreed with the statement "If my ethnic heritage were taken away from me, I would feel lost," and 26% gave the same response to the statement that "My ethnic culture strongly affects my daily life."

In our second survey, we asked people whether they felt closer to other ethnics or more distant. This measure was designed to capture changes in the extent to which people identified with their ethnic culture. As Table 9 shows, more than half of the sample said they felt about the "same." Several respondents pointed out that four years is not really a very long time. However, 8% felt more distant, and 37% closer, including 22% who said they feel "much closer" to other ethnics than they did four years previously.

Until recently, two important assumptions have been made by many scholars concerned with ethnicity: first, that ethnicity was something associated with premodern stages of national development and would fade with modernization; and, secondly, that assimilation--dropping one's ethnic culture--was a one-way, irreversible process. Both are now being questioned.

Manifestations of ethnicity in modern societies were considered vestiges of the premodern past or some form of retrogression. Terms such as "reactionary movements" and "breakdowns" were applied. However, this notion has been set aside in recent years as scholars have noted that ethnic group activities seem to be rational strategies for dealing with contemporary problems in modern societies (Heisler,

1977). Horowitz (1977) notes that the emerging sociological view of ethnic groups stresses the fluidity and variability of ethnic identities and relationships. The definitions and boundaries of ethnic groups do vary over time as groups absorb, merge with or merge into other groups. Some groups also divide or subgroups reject the wider entity. Exploring this situational, or contextual nature of ethnicity, Horowitz (1977) points to the interplay between cultural revivals, and changes in the boundaries and conflict relationships of ethnic groups. A movement to revive an ethnic heritage is often the response to either growing differentiation within the group (so that it is breaking up into subgroups and losing the larger identity) or to growing assimilation (the drifting apart of subgroups or the blurring of boundaries between groups). Groups threatened with differentiation turn to the past to reduce their diversity, pointing to common origins and ancestors; ethnic groups threatened with assimilation turn to their history to affirm their distinctiveness. The latter prospect would seem to fuel the current revival of interest in ethnic heritages in the United States.

We also asked the panel for ethnic holidays and festivals celebrated. Here, we find an increase from an average of 1.66 in 1976 to 2.28 in 1980. Looking at individual differences, we find 35% celebrating about the same number, 38% celebrating more and 27% celebrating fewer holidays and festivals. Religious holidays dominated the list for most ethnic groups, particularly Christmas and

TABLE 9

CHANGES IN ETHNIC CULTURAL PATTERNS

Number of ethnic holidays/festivals celebrated	1976		1980-81	
None	91	(24%)	83	(21%)
1 - 2	206	(54%)	182	(46%)
3 - 4	55	(14%)	61	(16%)
5 or more	27	(7%)	62	(16%)
Missing information	13		8	(2%)
Total:	392		392	-
Average:	1.66		2.28	
Percentage celebrating more			38%	
Percentage celebrating fewer			27%	
Percentage celebrating same			35%	

Perceived changes in Ethnic Identification:[1]		
Feel much more distant from ethnic group	9	(2%)
Feel a bit more distant from ethnic group	22	(6%)
Feel about the same	213	(54%)
Feel a bit closer to ethnic group	57	(15%)
Feel much closer to ethnic group	87	(22%)
Missing information	4	(1%)
Total	392	

[1] In the first survey ethnic identification was tapped by a series of items which were then used to compile an index.

Easter or saints' days. However, many observances have political overtones. Most of the holidays included in the ethnic calendar of the Cleveland Ethnic Directory 1980 were cited by one or more of our respondents. We also asked respondents in the 1980-81 survey whether they had ever visited the People's & Cultures store in the Flats or gone on one of the group's ethnic tours. While the majority of respondents had done neither, about a fourth had visited the store and less than 10% taken one of the ethnic tours.

Changes in cultural patterns also are evident in the responses to the open-ended question that began the interview--How would you say your own life as a (Ukrainian-American) has changed in the past four years or so? By quantifying these responses, we find that 9% were more active in ethnic groups and 4% less active; 4% observe more ethnic customs and traditions; 1% speak the ethnic language more often and 1% less often; 4% traveled to the "mother country" during that period; 11% feel more ethnic or have more interest in their heritage and 2% have less interest and feel more Americanized; 2% have more ethnic friends and 2% fewer ethnic friends (See Table 7, Appendix A).

Ethnic Media Image--
Some Positive Change Seen:

The position of the mass media is a controversial one. Do the media affect the images we have of each other and ourselves through ethnic portrayals and news reports? Or do the media merely reflect the blemished, imperfect images we

have of each other? Certainly we'll not answer this complicated question here, but concern with their media images is found across a broad range of ethnic groups.

Shaheen (1980) points out that Arab stereotypes in the American media are "inaccurate and unfair." Most TV programs portray Arabs as cruel, cowardly, sex-mad and decadent--either as white slave traders attempting to abduct beautiful American virgins for some harem or blood-feuding Bedouins. He suggests that the image of the "Ugly Arab" is not the result of a conspiracy but the fact that there are no Arab-Americans writing in Hollywood.

Hispanic Americans are dissatisfied with the crime coverage in their communities and don't think Hispanic accomplishments get enough attention; however, overall, they are satisfied with local media as sources of information according to a survey of 1,700 adults, primarily in the Southwest.[17] Both Anglos and Hispanics believed there were more media portrayals of Mexican-Americans doing bad things than good things.

During a talk in Cleveland in 1979, Charles R. Rivera, editor-in-chief of Nuestro, a magazine for U.S. Latins, told the audience his publication was trying to promote positive images. "We want the media and decision makers to know that Latinos have as much talent in any given area as any other group in society," Rivera said. Jose A. Pena, then president of the Spanish-American Committee in Cleveland, criticized the local media and said negative events of the Hispanic community usually get coverage.[18] There is

considerable anecdotal evidence of white ethnic groups objections to media images, such as the negative stereotypes of Slavs (Novak, 1971) and of Catholic immigrants--Irish, Italians, Poles, and Slavs--in U.S. textbooks (Brazaitis, 1977).

Media images of ethnics can be important, because one's self-image has been shown to be greatly determined by evaluations received from the media and other sources. A person will respond favorably to a positive evaluation which satisfies needs for self-esteem and will respond unfavorably to a negative evaluation (Jones, 1973; Katz, 1974). Fears about the consequences of media stereotypes are raised by Tan (1980), whose correlational study found a relationship between TV use and several traits used by American and Chinese college students to describe Americans; heavy TV viewers in the Chinese sample characterized Americans as pleasure-loving and materialistic. Different social groups tend to hold similar values because of intra-group communication and access to common channels of information (Wheeler, 1971). The media have been found to be quite influential in creating and disseminating group stereotypes (Graves, 1975).

There appears to be considerable agreement within ethnic groups on the components of their own stereotype or image, although there is considerable variance on how widely or intensely an ethnic or racial stereotype is held (Brigham, 1971). Ethnic images have "a more reliable and

predictable effect probably because in consensus there is anticipated group support" (Gardner, 1973:144).

In the 1976 survey of Cleveland ethnics, we found that conscious identification with one's ethnic group did not appear to relate to how people felt the media portrayed them, except that those who were not U.S. citizens tended to consider their media images as being unfavorable (Jeffres and Hur, 1979).

In both surveys we asked respondents whether they thought the image of their ethnic group presented in the mass media (TV, radio, newspapers, magazines) was positive, neutral, or negative. Looking only at those included in the panel, we find 35% of respondents believed their image was neutral in 1976 and 34% in 1980-81. As Table 10 shows, while 31% of the panel saw positive images in 1976, 37% did four years later. The percentage who thought their ethnic group had unfavorable images in the media was about the same for both years. A Greek woman made the following comment:

> "I feel the film industry has never done justice to Greek history. I feel radio and TV anchormen have not presented the Greek news justly to the American public. The Greek Orthodox and Eastern Orthodox religion is never mentioned in the media, whereas all consideration is given to all other religions."

The overall change is negligible. Some 30% think their image has gotten worse and 32% believe their image has improved, while 38% think it has remained the same. The figures suggest that, though the changes are minor, people

TABLE 10

CHANGES IN PERCEIVED MEDIA IMAGE OF ETHNICS

Image of Ethnic Group Seen in the Mass Media:	1976		1980-81	
Very favorable	40	(10%)	39	(10%)
Somewhat favorable	81	(21%)	104	(27%)
Neutral (neither favorable nor unfavorable)	137	(35%)	132	(34%)
Somewhat unfavorable	79	(20%)	79	(20%)
Very unfavorable	19	(5%)	23	(6%)
Missing information:	36	(9%)	15	(4%)
Total	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Average:[1]	3.12		3.36	
Percentage indicating no change			38%	
Percentage indicating more favorable image			32%	
Percentage indicating less favorable image			30%	

[1] The average is based on the following scale: 1=very unfavorable, 2=somewhat unfavorable; 3=neutral; 4=somewhat favorable; 5=very favorable.

feel somewhat better about what they see. Casual observers would likely find no national or international trend toward an improved or worsening image for most of the groups, except perhaps for the Polish-American community, during this period. During the four years intervening between the two surveys, a Polish cardinal became Pope John Paul II and this seemed to suppress many of the previously casual ethnic jokes which depicted Polish-Americans in unfavorable ways. In the 1976 survey, 16% of Polish-Americans thought their media image was favorable, 23% thought it was neutral and 61% said it was negative. In 1980, 32% thought their media image was favorable, 29% said it was neutral and only 36% thought it was negative. The sample size is small but the shift is substantial.

Covering the Ethnic Communities--
Press Highest but TV Improves:

If many ethnics are critical of their media image, how do they rate the media performance in covering their local communities? One might expect that high ethnic identification combined with a perceived negative image in the mass media would produce negative evaluations of media performance.

In both surveys we asked the panel to rate how good a job television stations, the Plain Dealer and the Cleveland Press do in covering their ethnic communities. Both times, our respondents rated the Press as doing the best job, followed by the Plain Dealer and lastly local TV stations. While 34% of the panel thought the Press did a good or very

good job in 1976, the figure was 37% four years later. For the Plain Dealer 19% thought it did a good or very good job in both surveys. For television, 60% thought a poor or very poor job was done in 1976, compared to only 52% in 1980-81. Looking at individual changes, we find 39% of the TV ratings to be in more favorable directions, compared to 35% of the changes in evaluations of the Cleveland Press and 29% of those for the Plain Dealer (See Table 11).

Our panel consists of avid media consumers, with a slight decrease in TV viewing and little change in newspaper readership during the four year period among our panel. As Table 12 shows, while two thirds of the 1976 sample read two newspapers at least once a week, the figure was 60% four years later. Individual difference scores show 13% reading more and 17% reading less, with 70% indicating no change in readership. Attention to individual newspapers shows a slight decrease in readership of the Cleveland Press and a slight increase in readership of the Plain Dealer. At the time of the second survey, the Press had yet to begin its publication of a Sunday edition. We also find a decrease in readership of the Sun weekly newspaper. In 1976 our panel watched an average of 19.7 hours each week, a figure that dropped to 17.2 hours four years later. Individual difference scores show 53% watching less TV per week, 33% watching more and 7% indicating no change (See Table 13).

What about the role of metro mass media? Certainly metropolitan mass media provide out-group linkages for ethnics and would strengthen inter-group links while

TABLE 11

CHANGES IN EVALUATIONS OF MEDIA PERFORMANCE

How good a job media do in covering ethnic community[1]	1976		1980-81	
Television				
very good job	12	(3%)	15	(4%)
good job	21	(5%)	45	(11%)
fair job	92	(23%)	106	(27%)
poor job	105	(27%)	108	(28%)
very poor job	130	(33%)	95	(24%)
missing information	32	(8%)	23	(6%)
Cleveland Press				
very good job	39	(10%)	51	(13%)
good job	93	(24%)	96	(24%)
fair job	130	(33%)	112	(29%)
poor job	48	(12%)	33	(8%)
very poor job	33	(8%)	19	(5%)
missing information	49	(13%)	81	(21%)
Plain Dealer				
very good job	9	(2%)	12	(3%)
good job	65	(17%)	63	(16%)
fair job	108	(28%)	119	(30%)
poor job	79	(20%)	91	(23%)
very poor job	72	(18%)	61	(16%)
missing information	59	(15%)	46	(12%)
Average evaluations:[2]	1976		1980-81	
Television	2.1		2.4	
Cleveland Press	3.2		3.4	
Plain Dealer	2.6?		2.6	

[1] Looking at objective changes in media evaluations, we find the following: television, 39% no change, 23% less favorable, 39% more favorable; Cleveland Press, 39% no change, 26% less favorable, 35% more favorable; Plain Dealer, 39% no change, 32% less favorable, 29% more favorable.

[2] The average evaluations are computed using the following scale, 1=very poor, 2=poor job; 3=fair job; 4=good job; 5=very good job. All percentages in the table are based on the total sample of 392.

TABLE 12

CHANGE IN READERSHIP OF METRO NEWSPAPERS

Paper read & frequency:	1976		1980-81	
Cleveland Press				
Every day	243	(62%)	235	(60%)
Every other day	18	(5%)	22	(6%)
Once a week	22	(6%)	10	(3%)
Less often	50	(13%)	31	(8%)
Don't read or missing information	59	(15%)	94	(24%)
Total:	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Average:[1]	3.37		3.22	
Percentage reading more often:			10%	
Percentage reading less often:			23%	
Percentage reporting no change:			67%	
Plain Dealer				
Every day	237	(60%)	278	(71%)
Every other day	29	(7%)	22	(6%)
Once a week	71	(18%)	38	(10%)
Less often	19	(5%)	11	(3%)
Don't read or missing information	36	(9%)	43	(11%)
Total:	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Average:[1]	3.36		3.58	
Percentage reading more often:			19%	
Percentage reading less often:			14%	
Percentage reporting no change:			68%	
Sun weekly newspaper				
Every week	176	(45%)	142	(36%)
Every other week	20	(5%)	9	(2%)
Once a month	25	(6%)	22	(6%)
Less often	76	(19%)	35	(9%)
Don't read or missing information	95	(24%)	184	(47%)
Total	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Average:[2]	2.98		2.45	
Percentage reading more often:			13%	
Percentage reading less often:			47%	
Percentage reporting no change:			40%	

Number of daily newspapers read	1976	1980-81
Read one newspaper once a week or more often	27%	37%
Read two newspapers once a week or more often	66%	60%
Percentage reading more daily newspapers		13%
Percentage reading fewer daily newspapers		17%
Percentage reporting no change		70%

[1] Average based on scale where 0=don't read, 4=reads daily.

[2] Average based on scale where 0=don't read, 4=reads weekly

TABLE 13

CHANGES IN TELEVISION VIEWING AND RADIO LISTENING

No. of hours watch TV each week:	1976		1980-81	
0 (e.g., no TV set)	4	(1%)	10	(3%)
1 - 5	19	(5%)	15	(4%)
6 - 10	56	(14%)	79	(20%)
11 - 15	66	(17%)	100	(26%)
16 - 20	73	(19%)	63	(16%)
21 - 25	60	(15%)	51	(13%)
26 - 30	36	(9%)	30	(8%)
31 - 40	30	(8%)	27	(7%)
41 - 50	18	(5%)	11	(3%)
51 or more	6	(2%)	3	(1%)
Missing information	24	(6%)	3	(1%)
Total:	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Average:	19.73		17.22	
Percentage watching more TV			33%	
Percentage watching less TV			53%	
Percentage reporting no change			7%	
Missing information			7%	
Total:			392	(100%)
Average number of hours watch TV per day during the week(Mon.-Fri.)	2.90		2.44	
Average number of hours watch TV on Saturdays	2.64		2.13	
Average number of hours watch TV on Sundays	3.22		2.94	

No. of hours listen to radio each day	1976		1980-81	
None	14	(4%)	33	(8%)
1	122	(31%)	125	(32%)
2	107	(27%)	92	(23%)
3	29	(7%)	47	(12%)
4	34	(9%)	29	(7%)
5 or more	54	(14%)	60	(15%)
Missing information	32	(8%)	6	(2%)
Total:	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Average:	2.75		2.69	
Percentage listening more			30%	
Percentage listening less			33%	
Percentage listening the same			37%	

weakening links within groups. Thus, metro mass media communication could tend to weaken ethnic ties. Shibutani and Kwan (1965) note that mass communication is likely to break down the walls of etnocentrism. Graves (1969) and Kim (1977) show that use of the host country's mass media is positively related to the immigrant's acculturation. However, later generations may use metro media ethnic content to reconnect with their ethnic culture; thus, the position of metro media is not necessarily a simple one.

Ethnic Political Patterns--
Carter in '76, Reagan in '80:

Our panel voted for the winners in all three of the presidential elections tapped by the two surveys. In 1976 we found that 41% voted for Carter and 36% for Ford, 11% voting for others or not voting. In 1972, 49% supported Nixon and 25% McGovern, 13% not voting or voting for other candidates. In the second sample we asked for information about the 1980 presidential election and found 47% of the panel voting for Reagan and 30% for Carter, with 7% voting for others or not voting. Our sample shows that much of the considerable shift between the 1972 and 1976 elections involved a return of traditional Democrats to prior voting patterns.

Partisan affiliation was also tapped in the two panels. In 1976, 50% of the panel said they were strong Democrats or leaned toward Democrat, 20% were Independents, and 19% Republicans. Four years later, we see a shift towards Independents and Republicans. The percentage of Democrats

dropped to 45%, while 29% said they were Independents and 22% Republicans.

In recent years blue collar voters have become much less tied to the Democratic party. And an important portion of this "swing group" is composed of ethnics, who have been wooed with a variety of campaign techniques. For example, Nixon and Agnew were viewed as somewhat successful in attracting ethnic voters on the basis of social issues, where their opinions were often inconsistent with the more liberal positions of the national Democratic party, e.g., racial relations, national security. One question raised here is whether the shift noted is a breakdown of ethnic political ties. The persistence of ethnic voting patterns has been noted in numerous places (Wolfinger, 1965; Levy and Kramer, 1973). The disappearance of such patterns was expected to accompany the movement of ethnics to the suburbs and their eventual assimilation. However, the melting pot character of suburbs may be over-exaggerated (Parenti, 1967). Furthermore, though ethnics may become acculturated in relatively homogeneous Americanized neighborhoods, they may not become assimilated. Acculturation is the acquisition of the native culture; American-born generations shift their attention from old-world culture and towards American events, language, work, dress, recreation, and mass media (Parenti, 1967: 719). Social or structural assimilation is the integration of ethnics at the primary level, including marriage, kinship, neighbors, and close

friends (Gordon, 1964; Abramson, 1973; Gallo, 1974; Alba 1976).

Preservation of ethnicity and the "right to be different" often requires political activity (Rubin, 1976). In 1976, Carter's comment that ethnic neighborhoods should be maintained may have invited such political participation among ethnics concerned with their situation. It did provide us with one of the two major ethnic political issues in that campaign. Schermerhorn (1976) describes the racially tense atmosphere of recent years in which the new focus on ethnicity has developed. He argues that mass media have focused on blacks for so long that those of European extraction have become forgotten people. Novak (1971) describes the feelings of alienation held by one large ethnic group, Poles, who are drawn to ethnic politics in the competition for jobs, respect and attention.

Greeley (1974) suggests that the "ethnic defection" from the Democratic standard-bearer in 1972 be interpreted as a response to the disparity in image between party leaders and their ethnic constituents rather than as direct evidence of an increasing ethnic conservatism. Greeley adds, "We have found no evidence of peculiarly ethnic racial hostilities" in data from several surveys. "What we have found is that ethnics tend to live in far closer proximity to blacks than do native Protestant segments of the population," he adds. This proximity, coupled with tensions accompanying disruptive displacements that have occurred in American cities, accounts for the involvement of ethnics in

racial confrontations. Ethnics' attitudes are no less favorable, and those of low income ethnics are more favorable, to blacks than are those of native Protestants (Greeley, 1974: 201). Ethnics are not the "last bastion of liberalism" but it is also a misrepresentation of facts to picture them as a "vanguard of conservatism" (Greeley, 1974: 202). In 1967 white ethnic Americans were no less liberal on the Vietnam war and sometimes more liberal, and never less liberal on issues of economic and social welfare than other Americans.

The second ethnic political issue in the 1976 presidential race between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter stemmed from a comment made by Ford in the second presidential debate: Ford said he did not think that the Soviet Union dominates Eastern Europe. This was met with much criticism among Polish, Hungarian, Slovak, and other Eastern European ethnic groups. Both of these campaign issues were directly relevant to ethnics.

Our analyses show that little difference was found on awareness or evaluation of Ford's ethnic comment, but Nixon-Carter voters (those who voted for Nixon in 1972 and Carter in 1976) did attribute greater importance to the statement. Most everyone was aware of the statement, and 93% of the Nixon-Carter voters and 95% of other respondents disagreed with the statement. The Nixon-Carter voters did differ on the importance of the comment, with 52% saying the comment was important in helping them make up their minds; only 34% of other respondents attributed much importance to

the statement. Thus, though there was little difference on agreement with Ford's comment, a contrast is noted on issue salience.

About 68% of other respondents and 72% of Nixon-Carter voters were aware of Carter's "ethnic purity" comment before the election. The difference on agreement, however, is far more pronounced; while 80% of the Nixon-Carter voters approved of Carter's statement, only 63% of other voters approved. The mean importance of the comment is also greater among the Democrats and Independents who voted for Nixon and Carter. Thus, it would seem that Carter's "ethnic purity" comment had a positive influence among the large block of Nixon-Democrats and Independents who voted for him.

Since the 1976 presidential debates had provided one of the two major ethnic political issues, we also asked respondents about the significance of the 1980 debates. This year one of the debates was held in Cleveland, and this factor added further to its local significance. As Table 14 shows, more than 62% watched all of the Carter-Reagan debate on TV and one person had attended the debate in person. An additional 17% watched most of the debate, 9% a little of it, and only 11% none of it. However, the importance of the debate in voting decisions was considerably less than the attention given to it. Asked how important that debate was in making up their mind for whom to vote, only 9% of the panel said it was very important, and 13% somewhat important. Another 17% said it was only slightly important and 50% said it was of no importance; 6% didn't watch it at

TABLE 14

CHANGES IN POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Pol. Party Affiliation:	1976		1980-81	
Strong Democrat	74	(19%)	88	(22%)
Lean towards Democrat	120	(31%)	87	(22%)
Independent	79	(20%)	114	(29%)
Lean towards Republican	51	(13%)	48	(12%)
Strong Republican	22	(6%)	39	(10%)
Missing information	46	(12%)	16	(4%)
Total:	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Vote in 1972 Presidential Election:				
Richard Nixon	193	(49%)		
George McGovern	99	(25%)		
Others	18	(5%)		
Never voted	33	(8%)		
Missing info.	49	(13%)		
Total:	392	(100%)		
Vote in 1976 Presidential Election:				
Jimmy Carter	159	(41%)		
Gerald Ford	142	(36%)		
Others	20	(5%)		
Never voted	22	(6%)		
Missing info.	49	(12%)		
Total:	392	(100%)		
Vote in 1980 Presidential Election:				
Reagan	186	(47%)		
Carter	119	(30%)		
Anderson	19	(5%)		
Others	6	(2%)		
Missing info.	62	(16%)		
Total:	392	(100%)		
Attention to Reagan-Carter Cleveland Debate on TV in 1980:				
Didn't watch any	43	(11%)		
Watched a little	34	(9%)		
Watched most	66	(17%)		
Watched all of it	242	(62%)		
Attended in person	1	(-)		
Missing info.	6	(2%)		
Total:	392	(100%)		
Importance of Reagan-Carter Debate in Making up Mind for Whom to Vote in 1980:				
Didn't watch any	25	(6%)		
Of no importance	195	(50%)		
Only slightly important	65	(17%)		
Somewhat important	49	(13%)		
Very important	34	(9%)		
Missing info.	24	(6%)		
Total:	392	(100%)		
Watched Reagan-Anderson Debate in Baltimore in 1980:				
Yes	151	(39%)	No	230 (59%)

all. We also found that only 39% had watched any TV coverage of the Reagan-Anderson debate held in Baltimore.

Were ethnic issues as important in the 1980 presidential campaign as they were four years earlier? While we had two explicitly ethnic issues included in the 1976 questioning, none was included in 1980-81 because we found no single issue which we thought covered all of the ethnic groups in the panel. However, there were many political issues salient to one or another of the ethnic groups, primarily in the area of foreign policy. Furthermore, as a Greek-American respondent noted, the election was filled with ethnic politics:

> "Of course, (there were ethnic issues in the campaign), the attitude of the U.S. government toward Turkey. It was loaded with election issues--Poland, Iran, etc. Yugoslavia was an issue, attitudes towards the Irish..."

One man said that "Carter didn't receive many Polish votes because his staff was insensitive to Polish needs in America." Another Polish respondent noted that "Reagan made a reference to the Poles and the Russian crisis in Poland." An older man in the Polish sample said there were no explicit issues, but added that "Democrats seem to favor ethnics more than Republicans." A Romanian man in his mid 30's said that "President Reagan's entire philosophy is of great hope to those of us who know that the opposing handout programs lead to present-day Russian socialism." One Romanian said human rights was an ethnic issue and another said that "Reagan was presented as swayed toward ethnics."

U.S. foreign policy towards the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was cited as a campaign issue by several Lithuanian respondents. A Lithuanian lady in her 40's said "what the candidates think about captive nations" was an issue, and another pointed to arms negotiations and the grain embargo. A Lithuanian lady in her early 30's also noted the SALT talks and Madrid talks. Several Hungarian respondents cited issues similar to those mentioned by Lithuanian respondents, but a young Hungarian woman added that President Carter himself was an issue because he returned the crown of St. Stephen to Hungary. Other young Hungarians cited Afghanistan and the situation in Poland and other communist countries. "The major one was the situation of communist domination in Eastern Europe in reference to human rights, in particular the Madrid Conference, military readiness, and federal support of nationalities," said a Hungarian man in his mid 20's.

A Greek lady cited three ethnic political issues: Greece and NATO relations, Greece and the Common Market, and the Cyprus conflict with Turkey. The U.S. position on Cyprus and Greece was cited by several Greek respondents. American aid to Turkey was an issue, one man noted, and Sen. Ted Kennedy's name was linked to the Cyprus issue and support for the Greek position. Another group concerned with U.S.-Soviet relations and related issues was the Ukrainian group. A young professional said President Carter's human rights stands were an issue. "I don't think the Republican or Democratic party gave much sympathy to

ethnics as they did in 1972 with Nixon," said one Ukrainian man. Another man in his mid 30s said the major ethnic political issue for his group was "human rights in the Soviet Union for Ukrainians." Among the Slovene and Italians samples, few people cited any ethnic political issues. Several Czech respondents cited Poland, Eastern European relations and Afghanistan as political issues. One ethnic respondent cited busing as an ethnic question. An Irish woman said she doubted if the "northern Ireland question" and treatment of Irish prisoners was a serious factor in the election, but three other Irish respondents cited the issue. A professional Irish man said "I was for Reagan and Bush because they're Irish and they're my type of people." One woman said some people may have opposed Sen. Ted Kennedy in his race for the presidency because he is Irish.

FOOTNOTES

1. Sue Kincaid, "How school systems here clear language barrier," Cleveland Press, Dec. 11, 1980, p. 8C.

2. Sue Kincaid, "It's reading, writing, and 'Americanization,'" Cleveland Press, Dec. 10, 1980, p. 15A.

3. Andy McCue, "Evolving Chinese Language Dailies Serve Immigrants in New York City," Journalism Quarterly (Summer 1975) 52:272-276; Elliot Parker, "Chinese Language Newspapers in the United States," Paper presented to the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism, Seattle, Wash., August, 1978; Donn V. Hart, "The Filipino-American Press in the United States: A Neglected Resource," Journalism Quarterly (Spring 1977) 54:135-139; Felix Gutierrez, "Chicanos and the Media," in Michael C. Emery and Ted Curtis (ed.), Readings in Mass Communication: Concepts and Issues in the Mass Media (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1977, pp. 283-294); Stuart H. Surlin, "Black-Oriented Radio's Service to the Community," Journalism Quarterly (Autumn 1973) 50:556-560; Fred Farrati, "The White Captivity of Black Radio," Columbia Journalism Review (Summer 1970) Vol. 9, pp. 35-39; Jack Lyle (ed.) The Black American and the Press (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1968).

4. "Detroit TV station black-oriented," Plain Dealer, Nov. 15, 1975, p. 8C.

5. Raymond Hart, "WZAK aims at main stream and ethnics," Plain Dealer, April 6, 1980, p. 7D.

6. Harriet Peters, "Ethnic radio station switching to beautiful music format," Cleveland Press, April 2, 1980, p. 3B.

7. "WZAK cuts down ethnic programs," Plain Dealer, March 3, 1981, p. 29A; "WZAK shifts to new format--ethnics out," Cleveland Press, March 2, 1981, p.4A; "Shocking radio switch," Cleveland Press, March 3, 1981, p.3B.

8. James Ewinger, "As city's ethnic groups migrate so goes airwaves' programming," Plain Dealer, Aug. 19, 1981, p. 7E.

9. Raymond Hart, "American dreamer," Plain Dealer, June 8, 1980, p. 18D.

10. Eleanor Prech, "They open window on world," Cleveland Press, Feb. 9, 1981, p. 7A.

11. Cathy Kissling, "Ethnic newspapers feel money pinch," Cleveland Press, Aug. 9, 1981, p. 28A.

12. William F. Miller, "Never Say Die," Plain Dealer, Jan. 21, 1979, p. 25, section 1.

13. William F. Miller, "Politics is ethnic editors' meat," Plain Dealer, Sept. 16, 1981, p.2C.

14. Joe Pianecki and Len W. Jeffres conducted the interviews in 1979.

15. Several editors of Cleveland's ethnic newspapers were interviewed by Cathy Kissling. "Ethnic newspapers feel money pinch," Cleveland Press, Aug. 9, 1981, p. 28A.

16. Only 25 people verbally refused to be interviewed. Some 21 were deceased or seriously ill, 27 had moved with no forwarding address, 38 were not contacted after multiple phone calls, and 93 were not included when there was no response by either phone or mail. Missing names and miscellaneous reasons complete the total.

17. "Hispanics rap news coverage," Editor & Publisher, May 16, 1981, p. 11.

18. "Positive image for Hispanics promoted," Plain Dealer, Feb. 26, 1979, p.8B. Also see the following: Arnold Shankman, "The Image of Mexico and the Mexican-American in the Black Press, 1890-1935," The Journal of Ethnic Studies (Summer 1975) 3(2):43-56; Felix Gutierrez. "Through Anglo Eyes: Chicanos as Portrayed in the News Media," paper presented at the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism, Seattle, Wash., August, 1978; Federico A. Subervi-Velez, "Mass Media Exposure and Perceived Discrimination Among Latinos in Chicago," paper presented to the Minorities Division, Association for Education in Journalism, annual convention, Houston, Texas, August, 1979.

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APPENDIX A

ADDITIONAL TABLES

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF PANEL & ENTIRE 1976 SAMPLE ON AGE

Age Category in 1976	Entire 1976 Sample		Panel Only	
18 - 19	26	(3.5%)	7	(2%)
20 - 24	43	(5.8%)	13	(3%)
25 - 34	105	(14.2%)	45	(11%)
35 - 44	92	(12.5%)	45	(11%)
45 - 54	154	(20.9%)	87	(22%)
55 - 64	186	(26.6%)	120	(32%)
65 - 74	94	(12.7%)	50	(13%)
75 and older	27	(3.7%)	12	(3%)
Total:	737	(100%)	379	(100%)
Missing information:	31		13	
Average Age	51.6		48.9.	

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF PANEL & ENTIRE 1976 SAMPLE ON EDUCATION

Education in 1976	Entire 1976 Sample		Panel Only	
Elementary school (8 years or less)	73	(9.8%)	26	(7%)
Some high school	76	(10.2%)	36	(9%)
High school graduate	163	(21.8%)	77	(20%)
Some college	237	(31.7%)	127	(32%)
College graduate	103	(13.8%)	57	(14%)
Advanced degree	95	(12.7%)	60	(15%)
Total:	747	(100%)	383	(100%)
Missing information	21		9	

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF PANEL AND ENTIRE 1976 SAMPLE ON INCOME

Income in 1976	Entire 1976 Sample		Panel Only	
$5,000 or less	77	(10.4%)	26	(7%)
$5,001-$7,500	48	(6.9%)	22	(6%)
$7,501-$10,000	77	(11.1%)	43	(12%)
$10,001-$15,000	135	(19.5%)	64	(18%)
$15,001-$20,000	147	(21.2%)	77	(22%)
$20,001-$25,000	92	(13.3%)	55	(15%)
$25,001 or more	117	(17.0%)	71	(20%)
Total	694	(100%)	358	(100%)
Missing information	74		34	

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF PANEL AND ENTIRE 1976 SAMPLE ON OCCUPATION

Occupation in 1976	Entire 1976 Sample		Panel Only	
Professional, technical and kindred workers	152	(19.8%)	86	(22%)
Managers and administrators	96	(12.5%)	54	(14%)
Sales workers	37	(4.8%)	24	(6%)
Clerical and kindred workers	73	(9.5%)	40	(10%)
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	41	(5.3%)	19	(5%)
Operatives, including transport	29	(3.8%)	13	(3%)
Laborers, except farm	7	(1.0%)	3	(1%)
Service and private household workers	30	(3.9%)	15	(4%)
Others				
Retired	98	(12.8%)	56	(14%)
Unemployed	6	(.8%)	3	(1%)
Student and job training	65	(8.5%)	9	(2%)
Homemakers	104	(13.5%)	57	(15%)
Missing information	30	(3.9%)	13	(3%)
Total:	768	(100%)	392	(100%)

TABLE 5

CHANGES IN INCOME

Income	1976		1980-81	
$5,000 or less	26	(7%)	16	(4%)
$5,001 - $7,500	22	(6%)	17	(4%)
$7,501 - $10,000	43	(11%)	36	(9%)
$10,001- $15,000	64	(16%)	54	(14%)
$15,001- $20,000	77	(20%)	50	(13%)
$20,001- $25,000	55	(14%)	52	(13%)
$25,001 or more	71	(18%)		
$25,001- $30,000			47	(12%)
$30,001 or more			89	(23%)
Missing information	34	(9%)	31	(8%)
Total:	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Percent reporting no change in income			16%	
Percent earning more			58%	
Percent earning less			11%	
Missing information			15%	
Total:			392	(100%)

TABLE 6

CHANGES IN ATTITUDES TOWARDS CABLE TV

Would subscribe to cable TV if ethnic programming were available	1976		1980-81	
Definitely would subscribe	87	(22%)	76	(19%)
Probably would	107	(27%)	69	(18%)
Maybe	90	(23%)	71	(18%)
Probably would not subscribe	58	(15%)	47	(12%)
No	34	(9%)	90	(23%)
Get cable already			21	(5%)
Missing information	16	(4%)	18	(5%)
Total	392	(100%)	392	(100%)
Would like to see TV programs from the "mother country"	**1976**		**1980-81**	
Yes	324	(83%)	278	(71%)
No	25	(6%)	68	(17%)
Already get			18	(5%)
Missing information	43	(11%)	28	(7%)
Total:	392	(100%)	392	(100%)

TABLE 7

[illegible] CITED IN OPEN-ENDED QUESTION[1]

Percentage citing "more" of something	Percentage Citing Change
More active in ethnic organizations	9%
Observe more ethnic customs, traditions	4%
Speak the ethnic language more often	1%
Increased travel to "mother country"	4%
Feel more ethnic, more interest in heritage	11%
More ethnic awareness	3%
More ethnic friends	2%
Percentage citing "less" of something	**Percentage Citing Change**
Less active in ethnic organizations	4%
Observe fewer ethnic customs, traditions	-
Speak ethnic language less often	1%
Less interest in heritage, more Americanized	2%
Fewer ethnic friends	2%

1. Percentages are based on the entire sample of 392 respondents.

TABLE 8

ETHNIC NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO PROGRAMS CITED BY PANEL[1]

NEWSPAPERS	RADIO PROGRAMS
Czech:	
Novy Svet (weekly)	Zdenek and Evelyn Prazak, WERE-AM, 8-8:30 a.m., Sundays
Sokol Tyrs Newsletter (monthly)	
Karlin Hall Social Calendar	Vaclav Hyvnar, Jos. Kocab, WZAK-FM, 8-9:30 p.m., & Joseph Hezoucky, 9:30-10 p.m. Thurs.
Americke Listy (weekly)	
Greek:	
The Voice	Xen & Lula Zapis, WZAK-FM, 6-7:30 p.m. Sundays.
Ahepa Journal	NBN(106FM/SCA), 12-1 p.m. Mon.-Fri.
Orthodox Observer	
Greek newspaper from Chicago	
The Illuminator (Greek Orthodox Diocese, Pittsburgh, monthly)	
Hellenic Chronicle (weekly)	
Proini, Ta Nea	
Greek magazine from New York	
Ethnikos Kerix (The National Herald; daily New York paper)	
Greek accounting magazine (from New York)	
Newspapers from Greece	
Irish:	
The Ohio Irish Bulletin (monthly)	Henry McBride, WBKC-AM, 11 a.m.-1 p.m. daily
Ireland of The Welcomes	Michael Comer, WZAK-FM, 3-4 p.m. Sundays/or 10-12 m. Mon.& Tues.; and NBN (106FM/SCA), 10-11 a.m. Mon.-Fri.
Irish Cultural (monthly)	
East Side Irish newsletter (The Schanachie; E.S.I.A. Club)	
West Side Irish Bulletin	
Irish Echo (New York paper)	
Hibernia	
Leinster Express	
Irish Heritage (13407 Herald Ave., Cleveland)	
Irish Advocate (New York)	
The Irish People	
Ireland Today	
Cultural Institute pub.	

(Continued)

TABLE 8
(Continued)

Lebanese:	
The Heritage (weekly)	(none listed,cited)
Alnahr	
Lebanese-American Journal (weekly)	
Lebanese News (in English, monthly)	
an English-language Lebanese journal.	
Italian:	
I-AM (Paolucci,Minneapolis)	Carl Finocchi, WCLV-FM,11-11:30 p.m. Fridays.
Attenzione-USA(monthly,Eng)	Sil Frate,Mike Santoli, WELW-AM,1-1:30 p.m.Sun.
Alma Nova (monthly;local mag. of Italian Sons & Daughters of America-ISDA)	Joe Giuliano,WZAK-FM,8:30-diff.endings Mon.-Fri.
Unione(weekly ISDA mag)	Vince Cardarelli,WZAK,7:30-9 p.m. Sundays.
Progressive ISDA pub. from Pittsburgh Italian community of Clev.	Emanuele Diligente,WZAK, 9-10 p.m. Sundays.
	Dr. John Pupillo,NBN(106FM/SCA)9-10p.m.,Tues., Thur.,Fri.;12-3 p.m. Sat., Sun.
	Uncle Frank, Astabula program, Sunday mornings.
Romanian:	
American Romanian Review	Rev. Danila Pascu,WZZP-FM, 9:30-10 a.m. Sundays.
America (monthly,Union League)	
Solia (Herald; church paper)	
MICRO magazine	
Tribuna Romaniei	
Romanian Word	
Vatra (church monthly)	
Romanian publication from Bucharest (once a month)	

TABLE 8
(Continued)

NEWSPAPERS	RADIO PROGRAMS
Slovene:	
Ameriska Domovina (daily)	C. Dolgan, WZAK-FM, 7:30-8 p.m. Saturdays.
Rodna Gruda	
Nas Glas (Our Voice)	Ed and Dennis Bucar, WELW-AM, 10-12 noon, Sundays.
Nova Doba	
Zarja (monthly)	
Prosveta (Chicago lodge pub)	Tony's Polka Village, Tony Petkovsek, WZAK, Mon.-Fri
Amerikanski Slovenec	WCSB, Slovenian Hour, 6-7 pm Mon.-Thur.
Ava Maria	
Nasaluc (Our Light)	
Druzina (Ljubljana)	Paul Wilcox, Mon.-Fri., 10:30-12 m., WZAK.
Katoliski Glas (Catholic Voice)	
Misli (Australian)	
fraternal papers, KKJA.AMLA pubs. from Yugoslavia.	
Hungarian:	
Szabadsag (weekly)	Mrs. Henry McBride, WBKC-AM 10-11 a.m. Sundays.
Amerikai Magyar Vilag (weekly)	
Magyar Ujsag (weekly)	Ernie Hudak, WELW-AM, 12-1 p.m. Sundays.
New Hungarian Voice	
Magyar Hirek (Hungarian News from Budapest)	Andy Dono, WELW-AM, 1:30-2 p.m., Sundays.
Amerikai Magyar Elet (Wkly)	Kalman Novak, WZAK-FM, 8-8:30 p.m. Saturdays.
Canadian Hungarian News	
Nemzetor (from Munich)	Kathy Kapossy, WZAK, 8:30-9 p.m. Saturdays.
Hungarian Digest (quarterly)	
Canadian Life (weekly)	Lofsa, 93 on FM dial, 7:30 p.m. Saturdays.
Canadian Magyar Vilag	
Catholic Hungarian Sunday	WZAK-FM, 7:30- 8 p.m. Mondays-Fridays.
Chicago Hungarian-American	
Katolikus Magyarok Vasarnapja (weekly)	
Insight (Hungarian Scout quarterly)	
ITT-OTT	

(Continued)

TABLE 8
(Continued)

NEWSPAPERS	RADIO PROGRAMS
Ukrainian:	
Shlakh(The Way, Ukrainian Catholic Diocese wkly pub.)	Steve Zorij, WZAK-FM, 7-8 a.m. Sunday.
Christian Voice (weekly)	
The Way to Victory (weekly)	
Svoboda (daily)	
Ameryka (daily)	
Ukrainian Youth (quarterly)	
Nashe Zyttia (Our Life, monthly women's mag.)	
Ukrainian Orthodox Word	
The Canadian Voice (weekly)	
Canadian Visnyk (weekly)	
Ukrainian Weekly (from Philadelphia)	
Ukrainian News organization magazine (monthly, Toronto)	
Hotujs (children's magazine of Ukraine Plast)	
Our Voice (monthly)	
Lys Mykyta (monthly humor magazine from Detroit)	
Nova Zorya (New Star; wkly)	
Za Patriarchat (monthly)	
News from Rome (twice a month)	
Ukrainskyi Filatelist	
Yunak (Uk. Scout mag.,monthly)	
Canadian Herald (Uk. church, twice a month)	
Lithuanian:	
Dirva (weekly)	WZZP-FM, 8-9 a.m.Sundays.
Musu Zinios	
Naujoji Viltis (monthly)	
Ateitis (The Future)	
Draugas (weekly, Chicago)	
Lituanus (English language quarterly)	
Darbininkas (Worker)	
Aidai (Echoes)	
Tevyne (monthly; Lithuanian Alliance of America)	
Lithuanian Engineering journal	
Lithuanian Women Monthly	
Skautu Aidas (a Scouts magazine)	
Medicina (Medical World Lit., Cleveland)	
a children's magazine	
Yetulas	
Seout Trida	

(Continued)

TABLE 8
(Continued)

NEWSPAPERS	RADIO PROGRAMS
Polish:	
Kuryer (The Polish Courier)	Eugenia and Jerry Stolarczyk, WERE-AM, 8:30-10 a.m. Sundays; WCSB-FM, 11-12 noon, Saturdays, Sundays.
Zwiazkowiec (The Alliancer)	Zebrowski Family, WZAK, 6-10 a.m. Saturdays, Sundays.
Polish-American Journal (from Scranton, Pa.)	Joe and Doloris Szulecki, NBN(106FM/SCA), 3-5 p.m. daily.
Perspectives (monthly, Washington, D.C.)	Polish-American Sweethearts, Frank Swita, WZAK
Poland (four times a year)	Father Kencik.
Zgoda (Unity, Eng. & Polish, semi-monthly)	
Jednosc Polek (Unity of Polish Women)	
Panorama Polska	
Polish Technical Review	
Polish Sports magazine	
Soko Polski (Polish Falcon)	
Gwiazda Polarna (Polish Star, Wisconsin weekly)	
American-Polish Eagle	
Polish Roman Catholic Union	
Kosciuszko Forum	
Jednosc Polek (Unity of the Polish Women)	
publications of other fraternal groups	

Note: The spelling of some publications cited by respondents could not be confirmed independently. The times of some radio programs also changed during the actual survey period. The publications of ethnic groups not surveyed include several with papers and magazines originating in the Cleveland area, including: Slovak, Ave Maria, monthly; German, Waechter und Anzeiger and Saxon News Volksblatt; Croatian, American Croatian Academic Bulletin and the Croatian Press; Jewish, Cleveland Jewish News and Rythm of Cleveland-New Russian, in Russian language for Jewish immigrants; Indian, The Lotus; and Hispanic, Latino Magazine: La Revista de Hispano Ohio.